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Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE VOLUNTARIES AND THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

THE breakfast meeting convened by the Committees of the Liberation Society and the Dissenting Deputies, which was held yesterday morning, is noticeable, not only as having been the largest and the most influentially attended meeting of the series to which it belonged, but as being the first occasion on which any meeting of voluntaries of a representative character has been held since the recent General Election. Whatever ground for rejoicing has been furnished them by that event—and no one will deny that it is great—it must be admitted that they have borne their honours meekly, and have not wasted in merely exultant demonstrations energy which should have been held in reserve for purposes of a more practical sort.

We, however, apprehend that the reticence of the friends of free-churchism during the last three months may be attributed to causes which speak well for both their discretion and their discipline, as an organised political party. There is a time to speak and a time to be silent; and for nearly the whole of last year none spoke with greater effect than they, or followed speech by action of greater aptness, or more decisive energy. But the issue of the appeal to the country brought with it a great responsibility—primarily in its bearing on the future course of the Liberal party as a whole; and, secondarily, on that section of the party which had practically determined the Liberal policy in relation to the greatest political problem of the time. Speeches and lectures, pamphlets and tracts, on "the Irish Church question," in its merely polemical aspects, had ceased to be of practical utility. The majority of the nation had already become convinced, and had given expression to its conviction in the prescribed constitutional mode; but there still remained the not insuperable, but still difficult question—how should legislative effect be given to the national will, by the actual disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church? The solution of that question properly belonged to the Government summoned to office by the national voice, and, in particular, to the distinguished statesman whose energy and courage have brought the subject into a position which has excited in the minds of the friends of religious equality feelings of the deepest joy. A premature, or obtrusive, expression of sentiment, pending the decision of the Cabinet, might have been as mischievous as it would have been

useless, and, therefore, a wise discretion has, we think, been shown by those who exercise controlling influence over the movements of the great body of Voluntaries, in the determination to wait in dignified silence for the measure which the Ministry was pledged to submit without delay to the judgment of the community.

The proceedings at yesterday's meeting indicated a consciousness that this reserve had not been the result of any misplaced confidence, and, at the same time, afforded evidence that, so far, at least, as Nonconformists are concerned, the Government have to deal with wise and generous critics. It is true, as was pointed out by Mr. McLaren, Mr. Richard and Sir John Gray, that there are points in the Irish Church Bill to which both Protestant and Roman Catholic Dissenters might, if they were so minded, take exception, as involving concessions based upon considerations of generosity and expediency, rather than upon strict principles of abstract justice. But it was felt that it would be in the highest degree impolitic to take a narrow or piecemeal view of a measure which viewed in all its breadth, and regarded as a whole, is justly regarded as one of the ablest, most honest and most satisfactory schemes ever laid before Parliament. Although, technically speaking, the meeting did not assume a distinctly representative character, the unanimity with which it assented to the views expressed by speakers well acquainted with the prevailing feeling in England and Wales, in Scotland and in Ireland, may be regarded as decisive of the fact, that Mr. Gladstone will have at his back the forces of Voluntarism as unreservedly as when he only pledged himself to principles, and asked for the opportunity of carrying those principles to their legitimate issue.

It is a fact of some significance that the meeting, deeply interested as it was in the subject of Irish disestablishment, applied itself with almost equal zest to another topic, of a far less exciting kind, but one which commends itself most strongly to the judgment and the sympathy of the more thoughtful portion of the Nonconformist community. Yet the abolition of sectarian tests at the Universities is as national a purpose as the abolition of the Irish Establishment, and the addresses—so lucid, so cogent and so fraught with generous feeling—of Sir George Young, Mr. Brodriek, and Mr. Herbert on this occasion shewed how absolutely one in purpose are Nonconformists and liberal Episcopalians, in seeking to make Oxford and Cambridge the training-schools of a nation, instead of the monopoly of a sect. Almost plaintively, Mr. Brodriek sought for the sympathy of his Dissenting listeners with the Episcopalians who are struggling, amid many difficulties, to emancipate both the Universities and the Colleges from the yoke imposed upon them by ancient legislation, or by tyrannous prescription; while Mr. Herbert displayed the stubbornness of a Roundhead, in almost expressing a hope that the rejection of Sir John Coleridge's limited measure might pave the way for one which would effect an educational revolution, rather than embody a legislative compromise.

In regard to both this Bill and that for the regulation of Endowed Schools, there were uttered reasonable warnings that future demands must not be measured by the moderation of pending proposals, and, if Sir Roundell Palmer had not already reached the same con-

clusion, he will now know that new declarations are not likely to be assented to by those whom he has furnished with sound arguments for rejecting them as useless.

We heartily congratulate those with whom it has so long been our pride and pleasure to co-operate, in the assertion of the principles of Christian willingness and of ecclesiastical equality, on the favourable auspices under which they have commenced their Parliamentary work for another Session, and for another Parliament. Yet none the less do we sympathise with the feeling expressed by the chairman, in closing yesterday's meeting, that over-confidence would be foolish, and any relaxation of vigilance a short-sighted mistake. If we are not now putting on our armour, we are far from putting it off, and our look-out must be as keen, our weapons as ready, and our resolution as strong, as when we were a weak and struggling host, on whose banners there never fell the gleams of approaching victory.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF IRISH CHURCH PROPERTY.

VIII.—THE GENERAL STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY IN 1868.

THE late Church Commissioners, besides giving some information respecting the nature of Episcopal, gave also some information respecting the origin and nature of all other ecclesiastical property. We shall see that this is singularly defective, and most unaccountably partial, but such as it is, it is of use, and we shall make such use of it as we can.

After the Episcopal Estates come the Revenues of the Corporations of the Deans and Chapters. Taken as a whole, the information upon this subject is very indefinite, and all that one can obtain from it, as a general result, is that the Deans and Chapters of Ireland are not now what they used to be. The revenues in virtue of their offices are very small—scarcely, as a rule, worth recording; but they have made up for this by seizing upon the best livings—best, that is to say, in point of revenue and—if such a thing can be best—best also in smallness of population. You may meet, for instance, with a dean who may seem to be, as a dean, a model of primitive church order, living say upon 60*l.* a year, and, like the Man of Bow, living well upon it. But upon a little further inquiry you will be informed that the Dean has, and always has had, a living attached to his deanery, and that the average value of this living is about 1,200*l.* a year, and the population—why, not worth caring for, excepting by a wretched curate.

The minor canonries, vicar-choralships, &c., of the Irish Church are also of a very small amount. Here and there a member gets a "good thing" out of his membership, but as a rule a "good thing" is impossible of attainment. There cannot be much, if any, abuse in this department of Church property, and it might be more safely assumed that the participants in it are under rather than over paid. Their work is skilled and constant, yet very few can realise from it a satisfactory or even a decent income. It is almost impossible that there should be room for jobbery in the management of their estates; if there should be the jobbery would be scarcely worth the trouble of effecting it. All the minor dignities of the Irish Church are, in fact, of comparatively small

value as such, and not to be compared with the same dignities in the English Establishment. The Church Commissioners in their report reckon the value of the corporations of Dean and Chapter at £7,749, and of the minor corporations at £10,000. The sum total of Church property in Ireland is as follows:—

Sources	Persons or Institutions to receive.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
From Lands let to Tenants	Bishops and Chapters	73,592 1 10	
	Minor Corporations	5,574 0 0	
	Cathedral Dignities	5,591 0 0	
	Bishops and Chapters	55,784 12 1	
	Minor Corporations	54,350 0 0	
	Cathedral Dignities	304,953 19 7	
From Tithes	Bishops and Chapters	576 16 10	
	Minor Corporations	4,985 12 9	
	Cathedral Dignities	4,985 12 9	
	Bishops and Chapters	320,057 10	
	Minor Corporations	13,280 0 0	
	Cathedral Dignities	364,334 16 11	
From other sources	Bishops and Chapters	385 19 3	
	Minor Corporations	141 8 11	
	Cathedral Dignities	154 0 0	
	Bishops and Chapters	40 0 0	
	Minor Corporations	3,318 7 11	
	Cathedral Dignities	3,055 0 0	
	Bishops and Chapters	11,574 14 0	
	Minor Corporations	251,523 10 4	
	Cathedral Dignities		

Besides this, the value of glebe and glebe houses has to be taken into consideration, and reckoning this, the aggregate amounts in net, to £613,984.

Nearly the whole of this is, in the strictest sense, public property—public both in origin and in nature. All the bishopric lands are of specific public origin, most of them dating from the grants of James I. and Charles I. The tithes date from a public Act passed more than seven hundred years ago, but this property has been added to by specific public and private grants. In the last appendix to their Report the Church Commissioners devote several pages to an enumeration of the amount of private grants that have been made to the Irish Church since the abolition of Church Cess in 1833. The enumeration of these grants occupies some twenty folio pages, but their summary is as follows:—

Churches, &c., built exclusively from private funds	£378,698 11 1
Churches built by parishioners—private contributions	41,457 18 11
Churches rebuilt by Ecclesiastical Commissioners	180,719 6 6
Churches enlarged by Ecclesiastical Commissioners	99,471 6 6
Churches—additional accommodation provided	57,381 9 4
Minor ecclesiastical buildings	10,861 13 6
Total	£668,585 7 11

This is the total result of private religious benefactions in Ireland in thirty-five years! It amounts, in round figures, to somewhere about the sum that the Wesleyans in England contribute, for exactly the same purpose, in two years. Most remarkably and most suggestively, the Commissioners, while they are so particular in recording every item and every penny contributed by private benefice, quite forget to record the sums that have been contributed from public sources. One would imagine, from reading their report, that private benefice had done everything, for there is not a word about any other source for church-building, or church repair, or anything else. It would therefore strike an unlearned reader with something like astonishment to find that private benefice has not contributed a tithe to the total amount that has been expended for ecclesiastical purposes since 1833. But we find, on referring to an old report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dating as far back as 1862, that while the Commissioners had spent £444,328 for church edifices, glebe-houses, &c., the private donations which they had received in aid of this sum amounted only to £170,000. They had spent in the period of their existence £1,070,435 on churches, and £99,899 on glebe-houses. Since 1773 the amount spent was £524,462, and cannot, as Mr. Aubrey De Vere estimates, be worth less than £200,000 a year, all contributed from the public purse, or from

compulsory sources, within the last hundred years.

In fact, there is probably no Christian Church in the world that owes, and has owed, so little to its own members as the Irish Established Church. Nearly all that it has is to be traced to the origin of Law. Law has built its church, and its glebe-houses. Law has furnished its parsonages and parochial glebes; and Law has protected it and propped it up in every form for which Law is and has been available. The result has been that the members of the Church have been the most niggardly and penurious of any "denomination." They are wealthy and they are privileged, but they have given less for the support of their own religion than any other denomination of a tenth of their size. They have allowed themselves to be ministered unto by the State. The State is now about to take back its gifts. The Church has abused them. We shall see whether Voluntaryism will infuse new virtue and new energy. We believe that it will, and that the Irish Episcopalians of the future will look upon the history of their Church in the past with no other feeling than shame and mortification.

SIR WILLIAM CLAY, BART.

It has been our custom in these columns, owing to we scarcely know what instinct—if it be an instinct—to notice the death of the departed servants of public liberty, at the close of the fragmentary and always insufficient "Notes," which for their staple matter, are termed "Ecclesiastical." As we now, however, write, the dignified and venerable figure of Sir William Clay rises before our eyes. This old friend of religious equality—the first to take up the Church-rate Abolition Bill after it had been dropped for many years—had, we believe, been invited to the Public Breakfast which took place yesterday morning. It was not at that time generally known that he was ill. It was hoped that he would make his appearance at the first public meeting of the friends of religious equality that was held after the passing of the Compulsory Church-rates Abolition Act. There was Mr. Courtauld; and by his side, as we thought should have sat Sir William Clay, Sir John Trelawny, and Mr. Harcourt. Sir William Clay was then dead, and Sir John Trelawny and Mr. Harcourt were absent. Sir William Clay's memory deserves veneration. Although rejected by the Tower Hamlets, he was a true and unspotted politician. Dignified in his external manners, simple in his habits, pure in his motives, he was a model ordinary member of the British Legislature. He had, besides these qualities, a peculiar, and what is best described by the phrase, *gentlemanly*, instinct of justice. He did good, and, to other people, but not to us, obnoxious work in his time, and did it to the very best of his ability. He died an old man, but none the less we regret to see the notice of his death. Has it ever struck the reader that we can, as it seems, often prefer to lose the young than the old servant of the Nation? That thought once more crossed our mind as we saw the notice of the death of Sir William Clay.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.

BREAKFAST AT CANNON-STREET HOTEL.

It has been customary during the last few years for the leading friends of religious liberty in the metropolis to assemble at a breakfast in the early part of the session for a free and informal expression of opinion on the principal ecclesiastical topics which await the consideration of Parliament. Yesterday (Tuesday) this pleasant gathering took place at the City Terminus Hotel, Cannon-street. The attendance was much larger than usual, and the proceedings excited the liveliest interest. Amongst those present were Mr. Charles Reed, M.P. (chairman), Mr. W. Shaw, M.P., Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. H. Richard, M.P., Mr. Crum-Ewing, M.P., Mr. Macfie, M.P., Mr. Gourlay, M.P., Mr. McCarthy Downing, M.P., Mr. D. McLaren, M.P., Mr. John Candlish, M.P., Mr. E. Miall, M.P., Sir John Gray, M.P., Mr. J. R. Mills, Mr. W. H. Michael, the Rev. P. W. Claydon, the Rev. L. Bevan, the Rev. John Kennedy, the Rev. R. Redpath, Mr. G. F. White, Mr. J. C. Williams, Mr. C. F. Tagart, Mr. H. Bidgood, the Rev. A. Hannay, the Rev. P. J. Turquand, Mr. C. E. B. Reed, Mr. J. Spicer, the Rev. J. Hunter, Mr. H. R. Ellington, Mr. John Glover, Mr. S. B. Pattison, Mr. Jeremiah Colman, Sir George Young, the Hon. Auberon Herbert, the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, Mr. S. Courtauld, the Rev. T. Binney, Mr. W. Edwards, the Rev. E. White, the Rev. Newman Hall, Dr. Gladstone, Mr. C. Shephard, Dr. Mullens, the Rev. J. G. Rogers,

Mr. Boyd Kinnear, the Rev. F. Trostrail, the Rev. C. Stovel, the Rev. D. Jones, Mr. John Templeton, F.G.S., Mr. T. O. Turberville, Mr. Stafford Allen, the Rev. J. Bigwood, Mr. J. J. Colman, the Rev. F. Tucker, the Rev. J. Pillans, the Rev. Mark Wilks, Dr. Underhill, the Rev. W. Brock, the Rev. A. McAuland, Mr. G. Potter, the Rev. R. Nelson, &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the business part of the proceedings, said the present meeting was for conference. No one was committed to anything. The gathering, however, was one of great power, as he could testify, knowing the men who took part in it. They were representative men of all denominations, and cherished many differences of opinion. They were not all Nonconformists, and their differences referred mainly to questions of Church Government. They had, at the same time, one binding principle, and that was an earnest attachment to religious liberty. (Cheers.) He believed every man there was prepared to stand to that, and that all were prepared to carry out that principle to this extent, that no man in this country shall be the worse on account of his religious convictions. (Cheers.) They had had several meetings of a similar character. This was not an extraordinary meeting convened for any special purpose. It was one of their annual assemblies—their convention. The hosts on this occasion were the Committee of the Dissenting Deputies, and with them were connected the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society. The guests he would not take upon himself to mention individually; they were many. They were men of mark, who had obtained splendid victories and had achieved great triumphs; and there were those who had more glorious defeats, if he might so speak, in their earnest attempts to battle with corruption. (Cheers.) Last year when they met they were looking forward to the approaching election. It had now taken place, and it had gained them a great majority, a majority larger than they could have calculated upon. (Hear, hear.) At the present moment, on both sides of the House of Commons there were new members who would show that, beyond all love of party, they were animated by a spirit of fairness and justice which would lead them to give their support to religious liberty. The Government was one in which they could have confidence. (Cheers.) Their friends were in the Government, and but for this circumstance would have been with them this morning. They could scarcely, however, ask men who were in the Government to take part in their meeting; but they had their representatives present, and they might congratulate themselves that they had friends in the great council of the country. Until the Reform question was settled, they were sure that there was no probability of ecclesiastical questions coming up, but when that was settled they knew that the mind of the people of this country would fix itself upon ecclesiastical questions. Those questions, probably involving educational and other matters, would now in succession have to be dealt with. (Hear, hear.) The first was already before them. The Church-rate question has been put out of the way. Without any of the discussion in the House of Lords that was anticipated, that question had been moved out of the way just in time for the great question before the country, and on which the country had most emphatically pronounced its opinion. (Cheers.) He could not forbear mentioning the names of Lushington, Easthope, Trelawny, Clay, and Harcourt, as they mentioned Church-rates for the last time. There was a time when a compromise would have been accepted, but total repeal was what they asked for, and what they had received. (Cheers.) The question of the Irish Church had been brought before the House of Commons eleven years ago, in a speech, which he (the chairman) from the gallery was glad to have had the privilege of hearing, by his honourable friend Mr. Edward Miall. (Cheers.)

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by the sun of York.

(Cheers and laughter.) Last night he witnessed Mr. Miall's entrance into the House, when he received from men who were his opponents almost as hearty a reception as from those on his own side of the House. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Miall's speech on the occasion referred to was good seed, and it fell into good ground, and it was bringing forth its fruit after many days. The House of Commons was educated by that speech, and the country was educated by it. With regard to the Irish Church, it was settled. In his speech on the subject Mr. Gladstone had dealt with the whole question without the slightest flinching. It had been his (the speaker's) pleasure to present a petition to the House pledging the Nonconformists of this country to stand by the measure. They wanted justice, not only combined with liberal, but generous treatment; and this he believed they would have. He confessed he was more afraid of the Russells and the Greys in the Upper House than he was of the Disraelis and Redesdales of the Lower. Upon the Test Bill he would not say anything, as that, too, was settled. He could not help thinking, however, of those who had so actively worked to bring it about. They wished the Universities to be national institutions, and not only to be open to those of the middle class, but to the poor as well. Some of those present had been able to send their sons to the Universities, where they had mingled with Churchmen. They had no fear upon this score; they only rejected the Thirty-nine Articles. Upon the question of Endowed Schools they were glad to see clauses which showed the advance of the principles they had espoused; the bill was in good hands. In conclusion, the Chairman regretted the absence of Mr. Harcourt that morning. It was a thing worth living to see a man of his age standing so firmly as he did to

his principles. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Hadfield had brought in a Burial Bill which, it was to be hoped, would become law. As chairman of the meeting it only remained for him (the speaker) to bid them all a cordial welcome. While they would support the Government, let their motto be, Eternal vigilance and confidential union to support their principles. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. RICHARD, M.P., said he had been requested to bring before the assembly the subject of the Irish Church; but he wished, in a few words, to explain why that subject had been assigned to him. According to the original arrangement it was intended that this question should have been entrusted to a gentleman, of all men the best fitted to deal with it—the hon. member for Bradford. (Cheers.) That arrangement, however, was made prior to the event which had filled their minds with so profound a satisfaction, and by which, through the indomitable pluck of the people of Bradford, their friend who had so long and so valiantly fought a good fight on the subject of religious freedom, had, by a kind of rare poetical justice, been brought into the field of conflict on the eve of the great battle. (Cheers.) When that event took place, Mr. Miall very naturally wished that his first public utterance on the Irish Church question should be made from the benches of the House of Commons. The committee were thus driven at the last moment to do what seamen have sometimes to do in extremities—to rig a kind of jury mast out of any bit of timber that happened to come in their way. (Cheers and laughter.) He had no objection to say a few words about the Irish Church, although his constituents and fellow-countrymen expected that he too would have some share in the forthcoming debate if he got the chance. He was one of those who looked forward with great anxiety, not unmixed with misgiving, to the appearance of the Ministerial measure, lest it should prove, as had been too frequently the case, a measure that should “keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope.” Some of the expressions which fell from Mr. Gladstone seemed at first to justify this anxiety; for not only did he say that it was possible that two-thirds of the entire revenue of the Irish Church might pass into the hands of the Anglican community, but that in providing for vested interests it would be necessary to provide for the payment of a certain sum of money for the continuance of a certain kind of work and to preserve the bishop and clergy, not only in their peculiar rights, but in their general position. This pointed to the work of disestablishment as a slow process. He (the speaker) listened with great anxiety to this portion of Mr. Gladstone's speech. Of that speech as a whole, as a piece of rhetorical art, as a masterly specimen of expository eloquence, there had been no difference of opinion. Its lucid, logical arrangement, the gradual manner in which Mr. Gladstone had developed his plan, his wonderful mastery over all the details of the measure, filled the minds of those who listened to him with high admiration. (Cheers.) But what of the scheme itself? The Government, he thought, were looking with some anxiety to hear the judgment of the Nonconformists respecting it. He (the speaker) was not in a position to interpret the feelings of the Nonconformists of England and Wales, but he would give his own impression. After a careful examination of the bill, as explained by Mr. Gladstone, his own conviction was that it was a bold, honest, thorough measure; that Mr. Gladstone had nobly and loyally redeemed the pledges that he had given to the country; that he had justified the confidence they reposed in his character; that he would not be a party to practise fraud on the public expectation. (Cheers.) With regard to disestablishment, that was not only complete but most prompt and peremptory. On January 1st, 1871, bishops of the Irish Church will cease to sit in the House of Lords, all ecclesiastical corporations will be dissolved; in short, all the ties by which the Irish Church is connected with the State will be severed, and the Church will be a free Church, free to reconstitute herself, and control her own doctrine and discipline according to her own will and conscience. (Cheers.) With regard to disendowment, that also was immediate. After the passing of the bill the fee simple of the whole property will pass into the hands of commissioners. As for the provision for vested interests, he thought it would be admitted that Mr. Gladstone had dealt with a lavish generosity. It was startling at first to find that a disendowed Church would carry away with it a sum of six millions eight hundred thousand pounds; for, after the deductions were made, that was the sum left to the Irish Church. He thought it would be difficult to find much fault with any of the proposed arrangements of Mr. Gladstone. They always maintained that whenever the time should come for the disestablishment of any established Church, all existing interests should be sacredly protected. This Mr. Gladstone had done. He has reserved to all incumbents the enjoyment of their emoluments during their lives, and they may commute their life interests if they choose. This was according to the example of Canada. This arrangement in Canada was adopted to meet the objection on the part of the anti-Church party. The twelve cathedrals which were handed over to the Episcopal Church might have been retained as national monuments. He would not enter upon the other parts of the bill. He could not help saying, however, that when on a former occasion it had been suggested that the money should go to lunatic asylums, hospitals, &c., the proposition had been received with ridicule. Now, every man admitted that it was the wisest plan. He trusted that the Nonconformists of England and Wales would give Mr. Gladstone's measure their firm and generous support. (Cheers.)

The Rev. G. M. MURPHY, seeing the Rev. T.

Binney present, begged to ask him whether a paragraph which had recently been going the round of the papers, having reference to Popery and “passing events,” referred to the Irish Church?

The Rev. T. BINNEY said the paragraph in question was an extract from a sermon preached nearly twenty years ago. (Cheers.)

Mr. DUNCAN MACLAREN, M.P., said that some thought that by Mr. Gladstone's scheme each of the parties got too much. The arrangement was one in which there was a little bribery all round. He did not know the truth of these allegations. The calculation with regard to the clergy was exceedingly liberal, and the same might be said of the Maynooth Grant. He thought that one party had not been favoured more than another, but that each was in the same situation, and this was the wisest political course that could have been adopted. What was proposed was more than could have been expected under the circumstances, and therefore, instead of grumbling, he hoped to see a good deal of unanimity amongst Nonconformists. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CRUM-EWING, M.P., said he recollected a few years ago, when Sir John Gray brought forward his measure, he was not supported. They now saw, however, a scheme for completely disestablishing and disendowing the Church. They had great reason to congratulate themselves upon the feeling of the country with regard to ecclesiastical questions, and to rejoice in the steadfast hold which the principle of religious liberty was taking upon the public mind. He was glad to meet so many brother Nonconformists in England. In Scotland they had been doing a little, but the men of England had far outshone them now. (Cheers.)

Sir JOHN GRAY, M.P., said that, on the part of his countrymen, he heartily thanked them for their generous and cordial aid in getting rid of a great encumbrance. After a long period of darkness they were beginning to see daylight. Some reference had been made to the late elections, and perhaps they would allow him to say a word in reference to the elections in Ireland. The question was distinctly raised by Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby that the country should be appealed to on one issue, and a pledge was given that on the decision the verdict of the country would be. They had a fight in Ireland. They had had one or two defeats, but they had about twenty victories. (Cheers.) Among them we had notably two, and Mr. Shaw, one of the victors, was present. The question of disestablishment was fought in the South of Ireland. They knew the history of Derry, and how the shout of liberty was echoed and went on yet. Mr. Ewing had alluded to the position of the Irish Church question years ago. He (the speaker) made his first effort in the House of Commons in trying to get the question examined. He did not endeavour to go different from Mr. Miall, whose speeches and writings on the question no man ever read without instruction. He calculated the chances and opinions of people, and showed that if they could get something done it would be a step in advance, but while he put his resolution so as to win the greatest number of votes, he felt it would be wrong to do anything without trying to get their concurrence. All they could get, then, was a debate but no votes. On the succeeding year they had a stronger resolution and purpose. They asked for a committee of the whole House to consider the question. (Hear, hear.) He believed that when they showed more pluck themselves the country took heart. When to use an Irish military phrase they no longer said, “Go on, boys,” but “Come on, boys,” the country moved with them. They then showed the way. They took a bold stand although the whole force of the Government was against them, and the force of those now in power. In respect to Irish feeling on Mr. Gladstone's measure, he believed that from one end of the country to the other, so far as Liberal feeling extended, the bill was recognised as an honest, bold, generous measure. (Cheers.) It was to be hoped that even those who could not go with him upon the questions of disestablishment and disendowment, and who were now feeling some bitterness of spirit with regard to a most generous measure, will come to see that it is better to rule the Church by the great truths of the Gospel, and not by the force of authority; and when the power of that Gospel shall be seen not in anger but in goodwill to all mankind. (Cheers.) They did not regret the generous way in which Mr. Gladstone was treating the Church in Ireland. They might perhaps have preferred that the account should be settled at once, because put it any way, at the end of fifty or a hundred years there will be according to the capitalising principle the remnant of the late endowment principle left, and the Church will have a full third of its present income preserved. Well, this might soften the fall, and they were content. (Hear, hear.) And they were content that much less than others would be, for these reasons: for 200 years this Church had been a nightmare on the whole country it had oppressed and dominated. There had been no peace, no progress, no prosperity. The Irish Church was at the root of all the evils which affected the country. People in England had been spared these evils, knew little of their oppressive weight. English people knew what it had cost them to govern Ireland, knew that it had been governed by the bayonet, and that was about the extent of their knowledge. Let once the principle of religious liberty be recognised, and he believed there would be an end to many of the heart-burnings which had afflicted the country. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE YOUNG said he had been asked to say a few words upon the Tests Bill, and with their permission he would confine himself to a few of its business details. The Tests Bill had become a national question. There was a considerable amount of knowledge exhibited on this question at the last

election, especially on the part of the classes who had not reaped the advantage of a University education. Without troubling his audience with particulars of tests as they exist at the University, he would remind them that since the Acts which passed in 1864 to 1866 for reforming the constitutions of Cambridge and Oxford, the educational side of the Universities has been open. There was no test to prevent anyone from proceeding to either University. To a great extent, also, foundations for scholarships were open. The intention of these Acts seemed to have been to confine the governing bodies to members of the Church of England. That intention was carried out by preserving, and in some respects by introducing, new tests which differ in their terms, but which come to this, that no one who is not a member of the Church of England, except in rare cases, can be a member of the governing body of the Universities, in the resident governing body or the non-resident; and, on the other hand, that no person who is not a member of the Church of England can hold a fellowship, and by that fellowship take part in the government of a college. (Hear, hear.) Now, in carrying out these principles, it became necessary that other things should follow. These fellowships were prizes; and Nonconformists were therefore excluded from them. And in the next place, by excluding Nonconformists from the degree of M.A., they were also excluded from the principal dignity of the University—the degree of M.A. being the great honour of the University. It is true that at Cambridge a sort of compromise has been attempted, whereby Nonconformists can enter their names “on the left side” of the book, and receive an honorary title of M.A. stripped of all those privileges which have been attached to it from the foundation of the University; but as to the privilege of taking part in the government of the University, and the election of members of Parliament, from that they are shut out. Now the University Tests Bill has been altered from year to year. By Sir John Coleridge's bill it is proposed to abolish all restrictions on University degrees apart from Divinity degrees. At the same time it is a matter of great question whether it is expedient to continue degrees in Divinity to persons not in orders. In abolishing restrictions on the degree of M.A. it is proposed to throw open the doors of the governing body of the University, whatever the religion of those presenting themselves. It is also proposed to throw open all fellowships. These two objects have been aimed at. Referring to college statutes, and to the fact that in most colleges private statutes existed, the speaker said the question involved a good deal of intricate questioning, and those who had had the care of the matter had been obliged to proceed with caution. Supposing Mr. Coleridge's bill passed, the college regulations will be relaxed. They should not be too sanguine about this, for colleges were slow bodies to move. The present state of the question in Parliament was this. Last night (Monday), the bill was read a second time, but there was a new item introduced into it. Sir Roundell Palmer suggested an amendment in which he proposed that certain new tests should be introduced. He believed these tests would be pernicious in their results. Sir Roundell Palmer's amendment received no favour from any side of the House. The question, therefore, stood in this form.—They hoped the Bill would pass the House of Commons early, and go up to the House of Lords. Should it be rejected, it will become a matter of consideration whether they were wise to ask so little. He expected that the result of this bill would be the abolishing of restrictions. If they were laying the foundation stone of a national system of education it was important that the Universities should take the place of the coping stone. (Cheers.) In conclusion, the speaker said he would ask them to set before themselves the idea of a national University; secondly, a grievance which had a double edge; and lastly, the very serious evil to those who were conscientious members of the Established Church. These tests called upon them to register an opinion on a vast number of questions, and after, perhaps, doing so, they were the subjects of a great deal of mental distress. He mentioned this fact because, sensible as he was of the assistance which members of the University had received from the Liberation Society, he would ask them to remember that while they desired as much as anyone to remove what was an injustice to Nonconformists, they hoped from them a reciprocal sympathy, and that Nonconformists would not be tardy in evincing it. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. G. C. BRODERICK said he came to that meeting to listen, not to speak. If he had any claim to be heard it could only be that he had been connected fourteen years with the most ancient college in Oxford, and had laboured to open the Universities and colleges to Nonconformists. (Cheers.) He thought it important that in a meeting like the present they should have a clear idea of the effect of Mr. Coleridge's bill. It aimed at these things:—throwing open all University degrees, except Divinity degrees, throwing open professorships and college fellowships. In truth, the bill only threw open college fellowships so far as the Act of Uniformity has restricted them. According to that Act everyone was bound to go before the Vice-Chancellor, and to sign and conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England. How did this work? In the majority of colleges at Oxford, besides the restrictions there was a clause in the college ordinance which made a fellowship to be forfeited for “contumacious nonconformity.” At Cambridge he was afraid the case was worse. Besides these clauses there was also a declaration of Church membership required. It was vain, therefore, for them to shut their eyes to the fact that the bill did not immediately throw open

college fellowships. He was more sanguine than Sir George Young as to the ultimate effect of the bill. He believed that at Oxford, if they carried the bill, the clause which forfeits a fellowship would be repealed by the voluntary action of the colleges. When a law was repealed it was more than probable the colleges would receive that as a binding principle and would carry it out in their own legislation. The great thing was to get this bill carried equitably, and though he might have wished it to have been better, he believed their best policy would be to support it as it stands, and to send it up before the House of Lords before the Irish Church got there. (Cheers and laughter.) He had that confidence in the House of Lords that it would not come into collision with the will of the people. This, as it seemed to him, would not prejudice their chance of getting a larger measure of reform. Next year, perhaps, they must have a thorough revision of both their Universities. Although it was only fifteen years ago since the last survey was made, the time had arrived for another; the settlement then arrived at made another Commission necessary. They would not, however, prejudice themselves by carrying out the present measure first, "always provided" they did not accept it as a compromise. If he might be allowed he would caution members of Parliament upon this point. This measure would satisfy no one as an ultimate measure. The compromise of Sir Roundell Palmer was also inadmissible. Sir Roundell was following the Scotch Universities, but he (the speaker) must protest against his plan being accepted. Professor Jowett had said, "Old buildings are better to wear than new ones." Their watchword should be "National Institutions." They should not deal with these questions as mere matters of bargain; they were one nation. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. Archibald Harewood expressed himself highly pleased at the conference of the morning. They were much indebted to those who had gone first in the battle. He heartily agreed with the last speaker, that the present bill must be considered an insufficient measure. It would not be a very grievous matter if the measure were not carried. He himself should regard it as another illustration that a sort of "Provisional blindness" hung over it. He would also say that the proposal of leaving this question to the hands of the different colleges was a very unfortunate one. It was just like a permissive bill. He belonged to a small Liberal party in a college, and he looked not to be left alone by the Liberal party outside. They were committed to a very large question indeed. He was certain whether they carried that bill or not, it could not stay there. So soon as the people of this country had discovered that thousands of pounds revenue every year were at stake, it would become a national question. (Cheers.)

Mr. Cawston, M.P., in the absence of Mr. Hadfield, explained the provisions of the bill for securing the right of burial to Nonconformists throughout the country graveyards. He congratulated the meeting on the progress of Liberal opinions.

The Rev. P. W. Clavens, in the absence of Mr. Michael, who had been obliged to leave, spoke on the Endowed Schools Bill, which he thought worthy the support of the meeting.

Mr. Emerson said he should be sorry that the meeting should give an unqualified approval to the bill, and he mentioned that the head-masterships were not opened by it to Nonconformists.

The Hon. G. Bannister and the Rev. Mr. McKerr agreed with this view, and the Rev. J. G. Rogers said he should not be sorry if the bill did not pass, unless made more complete.

Mr. Ingham, M.P., after congratulating the friends of religious freedom on the rapid strides their principles had lately made, proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was unanimously carried; and, after a short reply from Mr. Rizzo, the meeting separated.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

Though the bishops are almost unanimously opposed to the Irish Church Bill, it is believed (says the *Telegraph*) that when the division is taken in the House of Lords they will not record their votes, being content with simply speaking against the measure. One or two of the right rev. prelates are opposed to this course, but it is expected that they will yield to the wishes of their colleagues.

A resolution approving of Mr. Gladstone's bill, except in some details, has been carried at a meeting of the Irish National Association, on the motion of Monsignor Moran. A resolution in favour of preserving the cathedrals for the nation, and not for any favoured sect, was carried on the same occasion.

The curates of the dioceses of Dublin and Kildare have met, and passed a resolution complaining that in the scheme of compensation for their vested interests included in the Church Bill the conditions guaranteed by law, on which they entered the ministry, are violated. The number of cures to which they might be promoted will, they say, be greatly diminished, and no power of removal is given to them until they shall have "commuted," which they cannot do without the consent of the rectors. "This consent they cannot give, since they would thereby be entailing on themselves and their parishioners the expense of providing a stipend for our successors." The Archbishop of Dublin has declared his sympathy with the curates' grievance.

The *Freeman's Journal* says that "one subject excites great attention in Ireland since Mr. Gladstone developed his scheme—the maintenance of the ancient cathedrals at the public expense for Protestant use." It contends that the Protestant Church has no more right to them than to the funds which

the State resumes after centuries of malappropriation. "Are they to be maintained strictly as national monuments?" They cannot so long as they continue to be the property of one-ninth of the population, and devoted to their worship. There is still a want among the Catholic Churches of Dublin, it adds, which the transfer of Christ Church Cathedral would satisfy.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry has written to Mr. Chichester Fortescue upon the subject of Mr. Gladstone's bill. He says:—

I am sure I do not overstate when I say that since the year of emancipation no tidings have spread such universal joy through the land as this message of justice and peace.

On the whole, it is clear, from every expression of public opinion, that the framework of this great measure satisfies the mind of the country. Its details bear the stamp of that practical sagacity which keeps the promise within the power of performance. They are also impressed with that higher wisdom which legislates for man *modo humano*, respecting not only existing rights, but even those feelings which must ever accompany a descent from a high or privileged estate.

Dr. Moriarty admits that he wished to transfer the Irish Church property to his own Church, but that he gives up this point with a view of obtaining the entire destruction of the Protestant Establishment. He is glad to find that Mr. Gladstone does not turn the Church property to secular uses, for works of charity he considers to be a lawful use for Church wealth. Nevertheless the bishop complains of one or two points:—

1. That the whole of the compensation for Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum* will be paid from Irish property exclusively, whereas those charges have hitherto been on the Consolidated Fund.

2. He wishes that either the promise to disendow Maynooth should be recinded, or that Trinity College should fall with Maynooth.

3. He objects to the commutation of life interests, and asks:—Suppose, however, that you thus create a re-endowment out of the property of the Irish Church, will you have heard the last and latest of the question?

4. If commutation be deemed necessary, he suggests that the Imperial Government should lend, on the security of the tithe-rent charge, four or five millions for the purpose.

5. He objects to the proposed construction and recognition of a free Protestant Church Corporation.

6. He considers that the amount of irresponsible power which it is proposed to place in the hands of the Commissioners is excessive.

In reply to the question, "What will the Lords do?" the London correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury* says:—

I believe I can say with some degree of certainty that, whatever the Lords may do, they will not reject the measure. They may mutilate it in committee; they may hack at its principal provisions and mould them to suit their own peculiar tastes; but I do not believe that they will throw the bill out. I hear that the ground which will be taken by most of the bishops, including the distinguished Primate of the English Church, will be that of endeavouring to secure the best possible terms for the Irish Establishment; and with this view they will endeavour to have the date now fixed in Mr. Gladstone's bill as that at which all endowments became the inalienable property of the Establishment altered from 1660 to the era of the Reformation. They are anxious also to secure a more liberal basis for the calculation of capitalised life interests. I cannot but think that if they content themselves with these terms they will get what they want. The Liberal party is most anxious to settle the matter, and will give much better terms now than can ever be obtained hereafter. The Conservatives know this, and the more shrewd amongst them are as anxious not to have Mr. Gladstone's bill thrown out by the House of Lords as the Prime Minister himself can be.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing on Saturday night, says:—

The feeling grows that the Irish Church question is likely to be settled during the present session. The majority in the Commons on the second reading will, it is believed, exceed 100; and, if so, the Lords will hardly venture to reject the bill. Lord Westbury is supposed to have a counter plan of his own ready for exposition when the proper time arrives, and Lords Russell and Grey are known to adhere to their preference for a scheme of re-distribution. But when it comes to saying content or non-content, they will not persist in adherence to their individual predilections against the wishes of nine-tenths of their party. The professors of the College of Maynooth complain that their interests have not been sufficiently cared for by Mr. Gladstone in the provisions of the Irish Church Disendowment Bill. Fourteen years' purchase, they say, may be all very well for the Presbyterians, but it does not suit them. They felt secure of the 26,000*l.* a year allotted to the maintenance of their institution by Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1845; and they argue that while Dublin University is left *in statu quo*, St. Patrick's College of Maynooth ought not to be called on to accept a composition. A deputation has been appointed to present their claims, and to urge the consideration of the question on Government, with what likelihood of success I leave you to judge.

The London correspondent of the *Edinburgh Courier* states that when the Irish Church Bill appears in the House of Lords, the bishops, in the matter of the private endowments, will insist upon the date being changed from the Revolution to the Reformation. It is complained that the date 1660 purposely excludes the benefactions of Archbishop Bramhall and the Ulster Settlement.

The London correspondent of a Scotch paper says that on the Maynooth question a pitfall is already in course of construction:—

I happen to know as a fact that powerful opposition from a very strong quarter is being organised against this part of the bill. When it reaches the stage of committee, Mr. Aytoun of Inchdairnie, M.P. for the

Kirkcaldy Burghs, is to make a motion to the effect that the committee take powers to disestablish (or disincorporate rather) as well as disendow, the College of Maynooth, and to provide that the compensation payable under this head be awarded only to the professors, students, and others who can show a personal loss incurred by such disincorporation and disendowment.

A prayer-meeting on a large scale was held on Friday, at 32, Charing-cross, under the auspices of the "National Protestant Union," in accordance with the addresses of the bishops of the Church of Ireland, "calling upon them to assemble their congregations for prayer and humiliation before God at this momentous crisis." In the notice convening the meeting it was said that, "remembering the Divine precept that men 'ought always to pray,' and that in the judgment of many the legislation proposed is likely seriously to prejudice the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance of the truth of God in Ireland, they express their earnest hope that meetings for a similar purpose will be held on that day throughout the country, so that God's mercy may be entreated, and the dangers that threaten us be by His grace averted."

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

Is it wise (asks the *Times*) in the present universal conflict of opinions and creeds and no creeds, to impose, as the condition of office and emoluments, declarations and subscriptions which, in a large and increasing number of instances, are only made to be explained away? It is evident that a large and respectable class of men find neither moral nor intellectual difficulty in accepting doctrines and facts, at least in a sense best known to themselves. If the dogmatic truth is to be taught, and if it is to be made a motive and a rule of life, it is not by these methods. The faith of the Church of England does not require it. Leave a man to avow peculiar, heterodox opinions, if he pleases, without ruin to his prospects and estate. At all events, he can then be honest in his professions. He will also have the opportunity of ventilating his opinions, and convert, or be converted, as may be.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—"The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge has given notice of a congregation to be held on Tuesday next for the purpose of attaching the seal of the University to two petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons against Sir J. D. Coleridge's Bill for the Repeal of University Tests. The usual fears are expressed that college offices may pass into the hands of those who are not members of the Church of England, and that the entire administration, government, teaching, and revenues may be disavowed from the Established Church. Before such a state of things can be at all general in the Universities, it is evident that the Dissenters must be in the majority, and that, when this takes place, it must correspond to such a condition of religious parties in the country at large as would leave the Established Church a Church of England in name only. At present the Dissenters are in a small minority in the Universities, though their numbers in the country are far from small. At Cambridge, if the vexatious clause of the University Reform Bill, which prohibits those M.A.'s who are not members of the Church of England from being members of the Senate, were repealed to-morrow, it would give the franchise to some thirty or forty at most; the Senate, as a body, numbering between five and six thousand. These gentlemen do not profess to have any special grievance. They came to the University fully aware of the condition of things, and they accepted their position. It is the colleges which have suffered. To take a conspicuous instance, there have been within the last ten years three senior wranglers who could not, under the present regulations, become Fellows of Trinity College. Omitting the senior wrangler of the present year, who would not in any case have had a chance of election before October, the result is that, instead of the others, the college has been obliged to admit among the number of its Fellows two who otherwise would not have had a chance of getting a Fellowship at all.

In a letter to the *Daily News*, "A Fellow of Trinity" (Cambridge) shows by a reference to that college the value of Mr. Mowbray's strongest argument against the Test Bill that it would impair the college religious education. The religious education at Trinity College is, he says, as follows:—(1) Fifteen services in the College Chapel a week, of which it is necessary to attend five or six. (2) One University sermon a week, at which attendance is voluntary. (3) 'Paley's Evidences of Christianity,' and one Gospel in Greek, which form part of the Little-Go Examination: an examination annually passed with success by Jews, Catholics, and Dissenters of all kinds. (4) Three sermons by Bishop Butler, part of the Christmas examination for Second-Year Men. (5) A voluntary College Greek Testament Lecture; and a paper in Greek Testament at the Annual Examinations; both of which it is easy to avoid. I might add 'Dr. Whewell's Elements of Morality'; but it would be more respectful to the late Master to class that as philosophy. Is it credible that a reasoning man should either consider this religious education worthy of the name, or dread its overthrow by future Dissenting Fellows?"

THE PEERS ON MISSIONS.

(From the *English Independent*.)

While the Duke of Somerset was First Lord of the Admiralty the public had some opportunity of observing his singular modesty, his gracious temper, and his wonderful abilities. Some people thought, and some had the effrontery to say, that his Grace was an overrated man; but we really had no idea that he was such an ill-informed and wrong-headed

persons as his speech about missionaries on Tuesday night shows him to be. That some notice should be taken in Parliament of the papers recently presented on the subject of our relations with China was natural, and might have been advantageous; but the matter could hardly have fallen into more unsuitable or incompetent hands than those of his Grace of Somerset. After giving an inaccurate account of the recent disturbances at Yangchow, the Duke burst out with this unspeakably absurd question, "What I wish to ask is, what right have we to send missionaries to the interior of China?" As he presently objected to "the system of supporting inland missionaries in China," contended that "we ought to recall these inland missionaries," and "wished to know whether the Government would not adopt some more efficient and stringent mode of dealing with these missionaries, either by sending them out of the country, or by telling them that they should go no farther," it is evident his Grace supposes that Christian missions are a Government department. His notion of a missionary is that "if he is not an enthusiast he is probably a rogue," and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that he is of opinion that if the missionaries are not "reduced," but are allowed to go farther up the country, they will "seriously prejudice the cause of Christianity." He deliberately misstated the action of the missionaries by representing them as calling upon our consuls and commanders to come to their aid whenever they were insulted by the natives, and brought his ignorant tirade to a climax with this astonishing sentence:—"Nobody is responsible for this mischief but the London Missionary Society, and that society had much better send its missions to some other part of the world, and leave China unconverted, than pursue their present course." The London Missionary Society has nothing whatever to do with "this mischief," and its agents in China have never, that we are aware, been the means of embroiling the English officials with the Chinese. If his Grace had been honest enough to say that what the Chinese need is, not conversion, but opium, and that he wishes the missionaries would all be off that the traders might make their bargains in peace, we would have forgiven the rest of his shallow and splenetic speech.

Earl Grey appears to have taken a sensible view of the relations which should subsist between the Government and the missionaries. Traders and missionaries should, he said, be treated alike. We have forced the opium-trade on the Chinese, we have protected the abominable coolie-trade, and we have covered with our flag-merchants who were smuggling and infringing the laws of the Chinese, but not therefore should we force Christianity or protect missionaries. Rather let us cease to abuse our superior force in any of these directions, and no longer attempt to protect English subjects, whether traders or missionaries, if they choose to carry on operations in places where they may provoke hostility. With the noble earl we agree that the system of supporting missions by force is entirely wrong, and we are glad to find one sentence in the Duke of Somerset's speech also which we can endorse. If the natives, said his Grace, look at the example of our countrymen at Shanghai and at the gunboats brought up to back the Gospel, they will not be likely to accept our religion. On behalf of the missionaries of all sorts we once more emphatically repudiate the help of gunboats and marines. We say that they have never sought for any such protection, and at any rate we wish it to be understood henceforth that they shall ask for nothing of the sort. The evangelisation of China, says the Duke of Somerset, we will still attempt by such methods as shall seem right to us; but the English Government, which cannot be responsible for the acts of the missionaries, shall not be involved in any quarrel on their behalf.

When the Earl of Clarendon asserts that the whole population of China are hostile to Christian missions he is contradicted by his own officials in that country, who unanimously testify that the mass of the Chinese are perfectly ready to listen to English missionaries, and that the riots are always raised by the literary class. To missionaries travelling through the empire, very much farther up the country than Yangchow, no opposition is offered, but that the members of the inland China mission were imprudent in attempting to rent houses and to settle in inland cities may be admitted, though the Chinese authorities have never alleged that in doing so they were attempting anything illegal—on the contrary, they have admitted that they were fully entitled to protection. It behoves the preachers of the Cross to be wise while they are harmless, and the missionaries connected with our great societies have generally been as distinguished by good sense as well as by devotion. That some mistakes in the conduct of their great enterprise should have been committed was inevitable, but dukes and leading newspapers can show no greater want of sense than when they sneer at missionaries. The commerce of England may decay and its riches take to themselves wings, the empire of which we boast may dwindle and our power depart, but the missionary enterprises of Britain will be our imperishable glory, and will secure for us the undying gratitude of whole races of men.

The *Spectator* comments on the tone in which the Lords speak of infinite condescension, not without a flavour of contempt, for true Christian missionaries, as if they were not the pioneers of civilisation, but its most subordinate and insignificant followers. There is a real and sound reason why the State should deal on a different basis with the legal rights of traders and the legal rights of missionaries—namely, that to enforce the latter by armies and

fleets cuts the ground from under the missionary altogether, and that this ought to be evident to him, if it is not, when he first incurs the risk from which he suffers. But if we admit this to the full, why should any Englishman who really wishes to be, as well as to be thought a Christian, hesitate to admit the infinitely higher claim of a true Christian missionary on our respect and veneration than of any mere trader? If we assert the rights of the latter more keenly than of the former, that is not or ought not to be because we think them higher and more legitimate rights, but because we think them infinitely lower and less truly spiritual rights. The latter can maintain themselves by the supernatural power with which God inspires the heart of man. The former need human law to back them up. This should, the *Spectator* thinks, be the tone of any truly Christian Legislature in discussing such matters. It is not the prevailing tone of the House of Lords. But then, is the House of Lords, or indeed any other assembly of practical Englishmen, in spite of the English Establishment, on the whole a Christian assembly?

The *Book* states that the Rev. Edward Husband, the Ritualistic curate of Atherstone, has joined the Church of Rome, and will shortly publish an address containing the reasons for his secession.

CHURCH-RATES AT FENNY STRATFORD.—The magistrates of Newport Pagnell have made another order for the payment of a Church-rate, in this case upon Mr. G. Walker, for the amount of 3s. 2½d. The defendant did not appear.

THE EMPEROR AND THE OECUMENICAL COUNCIL.—M. de Lavallette has, it is stated on excellent authority here, written to Cardinal Antonelli to say that much as he desires the maintenance of the temporal power, and firm as is his resolution to maintain a sufficient force for its protection, the Emperor trusts that no question will be mooted at the Council which might tend to divide the minds of the French clergy; in other words, that the action of the Holy Ghost in the Church of God should be cut down to meet the exigencies of the dynasty which tolerates M. Duruy and erects a statue to Voltaire. The Emperor is also moving heaven and earth to obtain the nomination of Mgr. D'Arbois to the Purple.—*Tablet*.

THE MANCHESTER RITUALIST CASE.—The Rev. J. E. Sedgwick, of St. Alban's, Chetwood, preached in that church on Sunday morning, the inhibition recently put upon his preaching in the diocese of Manchester having been temporarily removed—or, as the Bishop preferred to put it, relaxed—on Saturday. In his sermon, Mr. Sedgwick referred to the charges that had been made against him—that he heard confessions, lit candles at the mid-day celebrations, and used coloured decorations. The first practice he promised to bring into strict accordance with the directions in the Prayer-book; he had long since discontinued lighting the candles; and the coloured stoles would not be resumed. A very large congregation attended the service; and the removal of the inhibition seemed to give general satisfaction.

THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY AND THE LAITY IN AMERICA.—The American papers give particulars of a curious dispute which has occurred at Auburn between the Roman Catholics of that place and their bishop. A priest who had officiated for twenty-three years there was removed, and another put in his place. The congregation, however, refused to hear the new-comer, gently led him out of the church, together with the bishop, and then held a meeting, in which they denounced the action of the latter, and threatened to appeal to the Pope if necessary. The *New York Times* draws attention to the occurrence as one which shows the independent spirit which pervades every organisation that is established in America, and says that a more noteworthy assertion of popular rights in ecclesiastical matters has not been recorded for some time. "No doubt the bishop will triumph in the end," it adds, "for Rome is sure to support its own authorities, but the signs of the times show that the Catholics of America will not submit to ecclesiastical domination without a loud and significant protest."

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE ESTABLISHMENT PRINCIPLE.—On Wednesday, at a special meeting of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh, a long discussion took place on an overture proposed by the Rev. William Balfour, of Holyrood, asking the General Assembly to take measures "to secure the maintenance and promulgation, in all their integrity, of the whole distinctive principles of the disruption struggle." The object of the overture was to maintain what is called "the Establishment principle," and Mr. Balfour held that the Free Church must not, for the sake of union with the United Presbyterians, give up their "testimony against Voluntarism." A counter overture was proposed by Professor Rainy, asking the General Assembly simply to adopt means "for keeping prominently in the view of all people the duty which, as under Christ, the nation owes to the Church and to the true faith." In the course of the discussion, Dr. Begg maintained that the result of the Government bill to disestablish the Irish Church would be to encourage and endow Popery on account of the compensation proposed to be given to Maynooth; to which Sir Henry Moncreiff replied that if the Irish Church were not disendowed, the Government would require to bring about religious equality in Ireland by endowing the Roman Catholic Church as well as Maynooth. Ultimately, Dr. Rainy's amendment was adopted, by thirty-one against twenty-two votes. A similar motion was under discussion at the Glasgow Free Presbytery meeting.

CHURCH ABSENTEEISM.—The parishioners of East and West Anstey, in the Northern Division of Devon, have told a sad tale of spiritual destitution in the ear of Parliament. Not that the piety of the past has

neglected them, for pecuniary provision enough has been made for their wants, but that they are the sheep of absent shepherds. East Anstey has 1687 in tithes, with a rectory, and 109 acres of glebe, but the rector, who has held the living since 1816, has never done any of the duties, but has lived in another county. West Anstey has 1127 in tithes, with a vicarage-house and thirty-seven acres of glebe, and for forty-nine years ending last year had also an absentee vicar, who only twice in his life went to the parish, and then to receive his tithes. The two absentee incumbents, however, paid one curate to do double duty, and the 526 inhabitants of the two parishes had at least the semblance of spiritual oversight. But last year the absent vicar of West Anstey died, and the parishioners so strongly represented their case to the aged bishop, that the new vicar actually resides among them in the vicarage-house. Of course, therefore, he does not require even half a curate, and as the rector of East Anstey will not pay the whole cost of one, the curate has left, and East Anstey is without a clergyman at all. The rector lives away in Cornwall, enjoying the parish tithes and rent of vicarage and glebe, but leaving the parish duties utterly neglected and undone. The petition which sets forth these facts is signed by more than half the inhabitants of the two parishes, and was lately presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Acland. It speaks well for the Churchmanship of these people that it has survived a probation so severe. The inhabitants have done wisely to call public attention to a case of such gross perversion of parochial endowments. The whole question of absentee incumbents needs to be looked into, and such cases as those of East and West Anstey will tend to hasten the time when the receipt of Church revenues will entail the personal discharge of Church work.—*Daily News*.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Evangelical Alliance Conference which was to have been held in the United States in the autumn of this year, has been postponed till a later period.

NOTTING-HILL.—The Rev. Charles White (late minister of Cornwall-road Baptist Chapel, Notting-hill) has formed a "Free Church," open to Christians of every name, at Cornwall Hall, and preached morning and evening to large congregations. Mr. White stated that he would have no deacons in his new church, but simply a secretary, treasurer, and committee, to manage the secular and financial affairs.

THE BIBLE IN SPAIN.—More than one hundred thousand (100,000), of portions of the New Testaments in separate Gospels or Epistles, have been forwarded to Spain or printed in Madrid by the committee of the Bible Stand in the Crystal Palace, considerably more than half of which have been sold or gratuitously distributed in the following places in Spain—Madrid, San Sebastian, Cordova, Malaga, Seville, Burgos, Valladolid, Vittoria, &c., in the province of Asturias, and in many towns in Andalusia.

LONDONDERRY.—On the 25th of February, the annual meeting of the Congregational Church, Londonderry, was held in the schoolroom, Great James-street. After tea, the pastor, the Rev. Robert Sewell, read the annual report on the state of religion. The stated meetings of the congregation on the Sunday showed no falling off, the membership of the church had been increased, and the Sabbath-school held its own, whilst they were greatly encouraged by the conversion of several of the pupils. The Revs. S. Patton and Professor Withrow delivered excellent speeches. Messrs. Osborne, Mathewson, and Campbell also addressed the meeting.

ESHER-STREET, KENNINGTON-LANE.—The workmen constructing a new sewer in Upper Kennington-lane, with their wives, were invited to meet the Rev. J. Marchant and a few friends, on Tuesday evening, March 9. About 160 assembled. After a substantial repast, the evening was profitably spent in listening to some brief addresses from the pastor of the church, Dr. Ellis, Rev. G. M. Murphy, Messrs. Corderoy and Nicholls, and with an appropriate selection of music. Two of the workmen proposed a vote of thanks to the friends who had so cordially received and entertained them, and after singing with great fervour the Doxology, prayer was offered, and the meeting terminated.

TONBRIDGE.—Mr. William M'Arthur, M.P. for Lambeth, on Friday afternoon, in the presence of a large assemblage of persons, laid the memorial stone of a new and commodious Wesleyan day-school at Tonbridge. The building is to be erected in the early Gothic style of architecture, from the designs of Mr. Baker, of London, and the contractor is Mr. T. Dove. The cost of the building will exceed 1,000*l.*, which has nearly all been subscribed in the neighbourhood, and it is intended to accommodate between 200 and 300 children. Attached to it are two large class-rooms. Amongst the speakers on the occasion were the Rev. Dr. Knowles and the Rev. Dr. Rigg, principal of the Wesleyan College at Westminster, who delivered an address on the benefits to be derived from a truly Christian education.

STEPNEY.—An effort is being made by the members of the Stepney-green Tabernacle to erect a new building to hold 3,000 persons, the present chapel—a very commodious one—being too small for the numbers who flock to hear the preacher, the Rev. A. G. Brown. Mr. Brown is one of Mr. Spurgeon's students, and his preaching is growingly popular with the working classes of Stepney. The Tabernacle will cost at least 12,000*l.*, and towards this sum 1,800*l.* have already been subscribed. Although, according

to an inscription on a memorial-stone in the present chapel, the building was erected so recently as 1864, it is already far too small to accommodate the ever-increasing crowds desirous of attending. For the last three years a class for inquirers has been conducted by Mr. Vickers (one of the deacons of the Tabernacle) with marked tokens of success, the attendance being thirty a week. During the three years 300 different persons have passed through the class, most of them into membership with the church.

LIVERPOOL.—The services in connection with the recognition of the Rev. Samuel Pearson, M.A., as pastor of the church assembling in Great George-street Chapel, Liverpool, were held on Wednesday evening, the 10th inst. Ministers of various denominations were present and took part in the services. After prayer and praise, the Rev. Dr. Halley, Principal of New College, London, addressed the pastor and the church from 1 Tim. iii. 1-7. The Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown concluded the service by offering prayer. Before the public meeting the various ministers took tea with the pastor and deacons in the schoolroom of the chapel, when pastors of churches in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, the English Presbyterian Synod, the Baptist and Congregational churches of the town, joined in a hearty welcome to the new pastor, who responded in appropriate terms.

Correspondence.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE EAST OF LONDON.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you allow me to call the attention of your readers to a sermon (advertised in your columns) which is to be preached in Stepney Meeting by the Rev. Samuel Martin on Tuesday next on behalf of the East London Congregational Association. I was asked lately by a Christian gentleman, "What is the best channel through which those who live in other parts may benefit the East?" I felt it might be presumptuous on my part to say which is the best; but I ventured to say that no better could be found than the institution for which Mr. Martin is about to preach. And I might also say that it has claims on the Congregational Churches of the metropolis which no other possesses. It was originally a branch of the London Congregational Association, but for some years it has been an independent society. It carries on mission work in seven districts, and is prevented from greatly extending its labours only by the want of funds. Mr. Morley contributed £500. to its operation last year, and has generously promised to contribute this year as much as may be raised from all other sources put together. It is mainly through his munificence and that of my late friend Mr. Scrutton, and now of Mr. Scrutton's family, that we have been able to persevere in our work; and I venture to appeal very earnestly to all who can understand our difficulties in the East to come forward and help us seasonably and largely. Perhaps I ought to explain that my congregation contributes generously to this association, but receives no aid from its funds towards its own evangelistic efforts. Contributions from friends who may not find it convenient to be with us on the 23rd will be gratefully received by the treasurer, T. Scrutton, Esq., 8, Corbet-court, Gracechurch-street; the secretary, the Rev. James Bowrey, 10, Stepney-causeway, E.; or by

Your humble servant,

JOHN KENNEDY.

27, Stepney-green, March 13, 1869.

THE LICENSING QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you afford me a small space in which to endeavour to persuade your readers who are not total abstainers to assist in a popular movement for the suspension of the Beershop Act of 1830? So great is the ignorance of a large portion of the Christian public respecting the evils which are degrading the population and setting them against law and decency, that it is necessary to begin at the beginning and restate a few facts.

(1.) The traffic in drink is divided between the public-houses and the beershops. The public-houses are licensed by magistrates, in sessions held for the purpose. The population have no appeal from their decision; and it is well understood that in addition to the consideration of the public demand for beer and spirits the magistrates privately listen to landowners, builders, brewers, distillers, and people of all sorts whose interests lead them to wish for licensed houses. It thus happens that many more public-houses are licensed than are required by the necessities of the population.

The beerhouse-keepers, who are prevented from selling spirits, obtain their licences direct from the Exchequer on payment of 3*l*. Their licences are personal; that is, they are granted to the man, not to the house. The Act under which this system arose—Lord Brougham's Act of 1830—was passed with good intentions. It was supposed that by multiplying the facilities for drinking beer the temptation to spirit-drinking would be diminished. But few years, however, passed before it was found that the Act was based on a delusion, and that the beershops not only did not diminish the consumption of ardent spirits, but introduced fresh evils of their own. A Parliamentary Committee sat in 1854, who

reported in favour of the abolition of the Act of 1830. Their report contains a clear representation of the frightful truth respecting these pestilent houses up till that time. The change in their character during the last fourteen years is only for the worse. They are increasing in number at the rate of 2,000 every year, and it is believed by those who have made the closest inquiry into their condition that *three-fourths of them are brothels*. The Vicar of Windsor declares that thirty out of forty in his own town are habitually so used. The Rev. Charles Kingsley (who is earnestly with us) gives the same report of the beershops in his own county.

(2.) Such, then, are the influences under which our working population is to a large extent being formed, and the question is whether anything can be done to arrest such evils.

Some will at once reply, "Nothing can be done. Trade must be free. The people will not endure restriction. Legislation can avail nothing. If there is to be any change, let it be not in the direction of restriction, but in that of *opening the trade*. Let beer and spirits be sold by any one who chooses to sell them. That will annihilate the public-house and beershop system at a blow." Yes, but it will multiply and aggravate the facilities of intemperance indefinitely. The experiment has been tried in Liverpool. The magistrates there, a few years ago, licensed every one who applied for liberty to sell drink, so as practically to leave the trade open. The result was that two years since they were compelled to fall back upon restriction, so awful was the outbreak of intemperance in that port. The same result would certainly follow everywhere. Mr. Gladstone's measure for facilitating the sale of drink by grocers and confectioners has not weakened the public-houses and beershops; it has only increased the consumption of intoxicating liquors throughout the land, with, it is said, the worst results even among ladies.

(3.) Others will therefore say the remedy will be found in a general measure for the revision of the licensing system. This is quite true. The only difficulty in the way is that the people who are expected to legislate are those who have the strongest interest in maintaining the present system—the Parliament of England. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the great brewers, the landlords who receive higher rents from public-houses than from any other description of property, the generality of the magistrates, are all in league to uphold the *status quo*—free-trade doctrine, as understood by many, indisposing them to further restriction. The result is that there is no more chance at present of carrying any general measure for the revision of the licensing system through the legislature than there is of carrying one for the reduction of the army. Such a general measure must await the gradual enlightenment of the country and of its statesmen, and the formation of a public sentiment strong enough to overpower the brewers, the builders, and the magistrates, and to insist on the establishment of a "local option," or of some new and safer licensing authority. It may some day, perhaps, be seen that, as it is necessary to limit the free-trade doctrine in labour by the excellent Factory Acts which are saving unnumbered women and children of the Northern counties—(see the Duke of Argyll's book on the "Reign of Law")—so it may be necessary to restrict the free-trader in beer, spirits, and harlotry, in order to save the working men of the whole nation. At present this is not seen. And even Mr. Gladstone himself is only just beginning to open his wonderful eyes to the possibility of such a future.

(4.) Allow me to point out the chief obstacle to the formation of a public opinion strong enough to overcome the opposition of the legislature. It is the absurd custom which has grown up among moderate consumers of beer and wine of leaving the whole agitation against drunkenness to be carried on by total abstainers. I render all honour to the total abstainers; but it is the inevitable consequence of their position that they will not be listened to in Parliament any more than Parliament would listen to monks and nuns who advocated a total disuse of marriage because of the abuses of illicit love. A life of chastity and poverty led for the sake of God and man is worthy of all honour, but it is of no assistance in forming a model for the legislation of ordinary mortals. I hold it for certain that Parliament will not consent to any modification of the prohibitory laws advocated by extreme total abstainers. But if all who value temperance will bestir themselves just now in earnest, and join the total abstainers who are willing to join them in demanding some regulation of the drink traffic, a first step may almost immediately be made in the right direction. The respectable working men throughout England are with us. The clergy are with us. The better part of the magistracy is with us. The people are asking impatiently for a removal of at least some of the temptations to drunkenness which beset them on every side, and they point to Russia, where the Emperor has just closed half the spirit-shops in the empire.

(5.) What, then, is feasible? I believe, with Mr. Ellison, the vicar of Windsor, and the Archbishop of York, and the other promoters of the new association, which has its headquarters at 6, Adam-street, Adelphi, that one thing is possible, and one alone—namely, to procure the suspension of the Act of 1830 for the licensing of beerhouses by the Exchequer.

These pestilent dens of infamy are increasing at the

rate of 2,000 a year. No respectable person has a good word to say for them. As beershops they do not pay. They can be made to pay only by adulterating the liquor and by setting up "accommodation rooms." We ask simply that no more licences to such places be issued. Let the present holders continue. They will be nearly all gone in ten years. The average duration of life to each "Tom-and-Jerry" shop is four years.

The result will be at once to increase the value of the public-houses, and practically to throw the whole licensing power, for the time being, into the hands of magistrates again. In return for such immunities the legislature would have ground to go upon in insisting that (1) all public-houses have parlours (at present the tendency is to convert them into bars, where tipping proceeds in its most degrading form); (2) that the law should be executed respecting disorderly houses, as it is not at present; and (3), that any policeman detected in receiving the bribe of drink while on duty (the secret of connivance at the present illegalities) shall be cashiered and severely punished.

Will your readers, both clerical and lay, allow me to bespeak their attention to this appeal? The association recently formed comprises those who are and those who are not total abstainers. Its operations have been hitherto carried on nearly altogether by the private subscriptions of its own officers. If our Nonconformist ministers and leading laymen do not approve of this movement (and indeed not one of them gives his practical aid on the committee at present), perhaps some of these would not object to state in your columns their reasons for disapproval. If we do not deserve assistance in this endeavour we are heartily willing to fall back upon tea-meetings and services for foreign missions.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

EDWARD WHITE.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

On Thursday, the Duke of ARGYLL moved the second reading of the Governor-General of India Bill. Its object is "to restore to the Governor-General in his Executive Council the power of making regulations which should, in language as well as in fact, be kept separate from laws properly so called enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council." It had been found that the Governor-General is too much fettered by legislative procedure in cases of emergency. Another important provision authorises the direct appointment of natives to the Civil Service without requiring them to pass a competitive examination. The measure met with general approval. Lord SALISBURY thought we had gone too far in endeavouring to create a Constitution in India after the English fashion, that "Asiatics must be governed Asiatically," and that the natives would gladly exchange our cumbersome forms for "rapid though perhaps ruder justice." He pleaded for the release of the Secretary of State for India from the tutelage of his Council; upon which the Duke of ARGYLL remarked that Lord Salisbury himself did not seem to suffer much from any restraint of that kind when in office—witness, for example, his independent action in the Mysore case. For his own part, he thought the Secretary of State had adequate authority.

On Friday the House sat only for about half-an-hour, during which the Earl of ARBLEN obtained a select committee to inquire into the Law of Hypothec in Scotland, and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE brought in a bill to amend the Bankruptcy Laws of Ireland.

On Monday, on the motion of Earl GRANVILLE, a committee was appointed, consisting of Lords Salisbury, Derby, Granville, Eversley, Halifax, and Redesdale, to consider whether any facilities can be given for the dispatch of business in Parliament, especially in regard to the relations between the two Houses, and it was ordered that a message should be sent to the House of Commons, with a request that they would be pleased to appoint an equal number of members to be joined with the members of the House of Lords.

HABITUAL CRIMINALS BILL.

The House then went into committee on the Habitual Criminals Bill. In the fourth clause, Earl GRAY proposed an amendment, to the effect that the police, instead of having the power of summarily arresting a ticket-of-leave man who could not show that he was pursuing an honest means of obtaining a living, should serve a notice upon him requiring him to report himself at the police-office. The Earl of KIMBERLEY opposed the amendment, and said it was now considered such a hardship that ticket-of-leave men were required to report themselves from month to month, that the bill gave power to the Secretary of State not to make this proceeding obligatory. The Earl of SHAPTESBURY also opposed the amendment, on the ground that it was desirable to avoid publicity, which would not be the case if the police were called on to serve notices upon ticket-of-leave men. After much discussion, the amendment was withdrawn, and, on the suggestion of Lord CAIRNS, the words "not living by honest means" in the clause were altered to "living by dishonest means." The clause as amended was then agreed to.

In clause 6, which authorises the appointment of a superintendent to register tickets of leave, an amendment was inserted giving the Home Secretary

the alternative, instead of appointing the Chief Commissioner of Police, of appointing some other person. A long conversation followed on the remaining clauses, in which several verbal amendments were made.

The House adjourned at ten minutes before ten.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CATTLE-DISEASES.

On Wednesday, Lord R. MONTAGU, in moving the second reading of his Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, addressed the House for more than an hour and a half, and traversed most of the ground which was gone over so many times last year. The principal object of his measure is the establishment at every port of the United Kingdom into which foreign cattle are imported of a separate market for their sale, and an abattoir for their slaughter; and the provision that no cattle so imported shall be allowed to leave the port alive.

Mr. HEADLAM, supported by Mr. NORWOOD, moved the rejection of the bill.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, speaking for the Government, objected to the bill on three grounds—that it would not prevent the spread of contagion; that it did not define the discretion for suspending the rule of compulsory slaughter; and that in the long run the cost of providing separate markets at the outports must fall on the Consolidated Fund. The Government bill proceeded on what he maintained was the true principle, of presuming that there would be health rather than disease; but at the same time taking powers to exclude the disease whenever it broke out. It also gave greater facilities for the establishment of markets at the ports, and as a proof of this he mentioned that the Markets Committee of the London Corporation, if this bill were passed, would recommend the formation of a separate metropolitan market. He urged Lord Robert Montagu to withdraw his bill, and to follow the more convenient course of moving amendments in committee on the Government bill.

The debate was prolonged till half-past four, and towards the last the impatience of the House was very decidedly manifested. Mr. Read, Mr. Lowther, Mr. Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Newdegate, and Sir G. Jenkinson supported the bill, and Mr. DENT argued in favour of the Government measure as being more complete. Disregarding an appeal from Mr. Bruce, Lord R. MONTAGU declined to withdraw his bill, which was thrown out by 253 to 197.

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

Sir JOHN COLERIDGE (the Solicitor-General), in moving the second reading of the bill, said it was, with the exception of one unimportant matter, an exact reprint of the bill of last year, and, like it, dealt in a different manner and on different principles with Universities and colleges. With respect to the Universities, it compelled that amount of religious freedom to be allowed in reference to all the Queen's subjects which the House of Commons last year by repeated majorities declared to be just and right. With regard to the colleges, the bill removed all restrictions from their freedom of action in that respect, which had from time to time been imposed by the authority of Parliament. It left the colleges controlled by their statutes, by the feelings of their members, and by all the associations which gathered round them, and which, in most men's minds, had as powerful an influence as any Parliamentary enactment.

Year by year the necessity of the proposed change was becoming more generally felt, and he could not but regret that men of high character and attainments were every year lost to the colleges, and that they were themselves deprived of those just and honourable rewards to which their abilities entitled them. (Hear, hear.) The Senior Wrangler of Cambridge this year was a Jew, and that was not the first person by any means who on account of his religious opinions had been excluded from the just and rightful result of a career of academical distinction. He had known, not a great many, but several instances of highly distinguished persons at both Universities being excluded from fellowships in colleges, not on account of active hostility to the Church of England or for any strong and definite objection to this or that particular tenet of the Church, but because, as honest men, they could not say that all the statements contained in the code of the Thirty-nine Articles exactly expressed their belief. (Hear, hear.) The bill proposed to enable colleges to alter that state of things, and there was no pretence for describing this measure as a tyrannical interference with their liberty, and still less as an act of spoliation. (Hear, hear.) He could not omit saying one word on a matter with which the bill did not deal, but which he thought could not long be kept from being embraced in the provisions of an Act of Parliament—he alluded to the position of the visitors at Oxford. Many of the most distinguished colleges were visited by bishops in virtue of the sees they held, and by the Oxford Act of 1854 a veto on all changes in the statutes of colleges was reserved to the visitors. In consequence of that provision many visitors—at least, he could say that one very distinguished visitor—had not hesitated to interpose his veto to prevent the colleges making alterations in their statutes, not on the ground that the proposed alterations would be prejudicial to the colleges, but because he, being a visitor and a bishop, thought the alterations would be prejudicial to the Church of England. This was a confusion of functions which, he thought, ought not to be suffered much longer to exist. (Hear, hear.) Last year, speaking on this subject warmly, too warmly perhaps, he made use of expressions which were misunderstood to reflect on a right hon. gentleman opposite. He would be the last man to do so intentionally, but he had felt provoked at the hope-

less tone in which some persons appeared to speak of the Church of England and of Christianity, as if the Church depended entirely on particular Acts of Parliament, and as if there was an uncertain and hopeless future in store for Christianity if brought face to face with infidelity. He entirely denied both those propositions. With regard to Christianity, history showed that the battle of belief and unbelief had always been going on, and looking back to the history of bygone times, he saw no reason for Christianity to be afraid of the result of that great struggle. (Hear, hear.) As to the Church, considering the high position in which she stood, it would be her own fault if she were not perfectly safe, and in that case she would have no right to come to Parliament for protection. (Hear, hear.) He, therefore, said that the measure now proposed to the House was a perfectly harmless measure, and he believed an inevitable measure in a very short time. He also believed that many hon. gentlemen opposed to the bill knew that to be true, and he earnestly hoped they would take counsel in time and accept the inevitable in a case where unless they gave everything they gave nothing, and not unfurl the flag of "No surrender," which was certain to be torn down, nor raise the cry of "Non possumus"—a cry from which no good ever had or ever would come. (Cheers.)

Mr. MOWBRAY led the opposition to the bill. He admitted that the Universities were national institutions, as the Church of England was, but he denied that they were founded by the State or supported by it. Both Universities and colleges, he maintained, had always been connected with some distinctive form of religious teaching, but this bill would altogether destroy their religious character. The change was quite unnecessary, for the Cambridge system, which Oxford was quite ready to accept, would admit Dissenters to all the advantages of educational culture. The Universities had deserved well of the nation by their admirable system of education, and that they had not trained young men illiberally was proved by the fact that, with the exception of Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster, all the leaders of the present Government were University men.

At half-past five the debate was adjourned on the motion of Sir R. PALMER, and the House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock.

PUBLIC WORSHIP IN TASMANIA.

On Thursday, Mr. C. REED asked the Under-Secretary of State for the colonies whether an Act, passed by the Legislature of Tasmania in 1868, entitled, "An Act to provide for the commutation of the sum of 15,000*l.* a year reserved by the Constitutional Act for Public Worship in Tasmania," by which Act the sum of 100,000*l.* was to be paid out of the revenues of the colony to the religious denominations willing to receive it (besides paying reduced annuities to the governing bodies of several of those denominations for existing incumbents) in the following proportions: Church of England, 58,466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Church of Scotland, 7,866*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Church of Rome, 23,106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Wesleyan Church, 7,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Free Church of England, 2,806*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Jewish Church, 420*l.*—total, 100,000*l.*, had received the Royal assent; and, if not, whether her Majesty would be advised to give her assent to that measure.

Mr. MONSELL said that in the year 1854, by the Constitutional Act of Tasmania, 15,000*l.* a year was appropriated for public worship. In the year 1862 an Act was passed for the purpose of distributing that sum among the different religious bodies in proportion to their numbers, as taken at the last census. The object of the Act to which the hon. gentleman referred was to commute that payment of 15,000*l.* annually by one sum of 100,000*l.*, to be distributed according to the numbers of each denomination as returned by the last census. Tasmania, as his hon. friend was aware, was a colony having representative institutions and a responsible Government; this was not an imperial but a local matter, and therefore quite within the competence of the colony. That was the reason why her Majesty had given her sanction to the Act. (Hear, hear.)

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

The debate on the second reading of this bill, which had been adjourned to Thursday, was further put off till Monday. Mr. GLADSTONE explained that, though it was supported by all the members of the Government, it was not a Government measure, but was introduced by the Solicitor-General in his character as a private member.

THE HORSE GUARDS AND THE WAR OFFICE.

Mr. WHITE endeavoured to raise a debate on the relations between the Horse Guards and the War Department, by moving a resolution calling for the union of the two departments under one responsible Minister. At present, he insisted, the army was submitted to a dual government, and he quoted from War-office circulars and speeches of General Peel and other high military authorities to show that the Commander-in-Chief was independent of the Secretary for War, and was entirely irresponsible to Parliament. This arrangement, he maintained, interposed serious obstacles to the desired reorganisation of the army, and fostered extravagance.

Mr. CARDWELL informed Mr. White that so far as his experience went, both these departments were under the control of one responsible Minister. The present arrangement, by which the discipline and command of the army was placed under a military officer, assured the army that political considerations would not interfere with promotion or discipline, and a change of it would not be satisfactory. But the Secretary for War was responsible for the acts of the Commander-in-Chief, and he promised for himself that he would never shelter himself behind the Commander-in-Chief on any matter connected with the administration of the army.

Sir JOHN PAXINGTON concurred unreservedly with Mr. Cardwell, that there was no divided responsi-

bility, and characterised Mr. White's speech as "nonsensical." The Duke of Cambridge, he said, had acknowledged frequently and fully that the Secretary for War was superior in authority to him. After some observations from Sir P. O'BRIEN, who was very urgent in favour of the motion, Mr. White withdrew it.

THE ARMY ESTIMATES.

The House having gone into committee of supply, Mr. CARDWELL moved the Army Estimates. He stated first their amount, 14,230,400*l.*, and comparing them with former years, he showed that, after making certain deductions and rearrangement of accounts, there was a total reduction of 1,196,650*l.* on the effective services, or about 10 per cent. on their whole amount. The reduction arose from two causes—the recall of our troops from the colonies, and the adoption of the new system of control. This year the number of our troops in the colonies would be 34,852, at a cost of 1,070,735*l.*, showing a reduction of 15,173 men and 573,059*l.* on the votes of last year. This would raise the force at home from 87,505 to 92,015; and having explained and justified the reductions he proposed to effect by maintaining the *cadres* and cutting down the numerical strength of each battalion, and also by the suppression of certain staff appointments, Mr. Cardwell dealt next at some length with the question of our reserve forces. Attaching great importance to the militia force, he stated that it would be kept up to its full amount, and that 20,000*l.* would be taken to improve the position of the officers and to bring the militia into closer connection with the regular army. He expressed, too, a warm appreciation of the services of the Yeomanry and the volunteers; and though compelled to decline an augmentation of the capitation grant, he pointed out that the present grant was over half a million, and that it would speedily be necessary to furnish the force with a new weapon and new ammunition. The first reserve and the militia reserve would be maintained at their present strength; but though not reducing the vote for militia reserve, Mr. Cardwell intimated very great doubt as to the wisdom of the scheme. As a general result, it appears that the total force in this country in the ensuing year, including regulars, militia, volunteers, and reserve forces, will be 381,828, as against 341,997 last year. Mr. Cardwell next explained the saving to be effected, of over half a million, from the adoption of the control system by the late Government, which he entirely approved, and which had been extended to many of our foreign stations. On the important question of the *matériel* of the Army he entered at great length, and gave an interesting account of some of the recent improvements in guns, powder, &c., from which he drew the conclusion that, at the present moment, Parliament ought not to be asked for any vote except for real and important improvements.

Sir J. PAXINGTON, while admitting the generally satisfactory character of the estimates, doubted the wisdom of so large a reduction of the army, and also whether the recall of troops from our eastern settlements and colonies had not been carried too far. But, conceding the necessity of reduction, he did not deny that it had been effected in the judicious manner. On the advantages of the control system, Sir John dwelt with much satisfaction: but the appointment of Captain Vivian as War Lord of the Treasury he condemned, as entirely unnecessary.

In the desultory conversation which followed on the different topics in the Estimates, Lord GARLICK and Colonel NORTH sharply criticised the policy of the proposed reductions, which was defended by Major O'REILLY. Mr. ANDERSON, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with the smallness of the reductions, and only excused it by the shortness of Mr. Cardwell's term of office. He introduced a temporary element of acrimony into the discussion by imputing to the Opposition an admiration of the estimates because they showed but a slight instalment of economy. Mr. MUNDELLA recommended a reorganisation of the present corrupt contract system; and Mr. RYLANDS declaimed on the large sums spent on the army during the last half-century. Lord ELCHO, Sir W. Russell, Colonel Loyd Lindsay, General Percy Herbert, and others, made some practical observations on different votes, and all concurred in praising the clearness and ability of Mr. Cardwell's statement.

The first four votes, settling the number of men and the amount of pay and commissariat expenses, were agreed to.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at one o'clock.

On Friday Lord ELCHO gave notice of a resolution declaring that the estimates fail to provide a "sound basis for the war power of the nation, and that the establishment of a sufficient and reliable army reserve is a matter much needed." Lord HARTINGTON intimated that the Government had under consideration the expediency of lowering the postage on newspaper and other printed matter to less than a penny, and that it was his intention to bring in a bill for authorising the grant of assurance on life as low as 5*l.*

DEFECTIVE EDUCATION IN LARGE TOWNS.

Mr. MELLY called attention to the numbers of young children in our large towns growing up without any education, unaffected either by the educational clauses of the Factory Act by voluntary efforts; and moved for a select committee to inquire into this serious state of matters and report on a system of education that may remedy the same. The honourable gentleman rested his case chiefly upon the statistics of juvenile vagrancy in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, where 75,000 children were growing up without any educational advantages. The Factory Act would not meet the case, as the children were not at work, neither would industrial

schools at a charge of 18s. a head meet the evil. He submitted that education should be separated from either board or maintenance, and that, inasmuch as every child had a moral right to education, free municipal schools should be established in all large towns. This machinery must, of course, be secular, and the attendance compulsory.

The motion was seconded by Mr. DIXON, who argued that society was becoming familiar with the idea of compulsory education, and that the tax-paying classes were prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to enlighten ignorance and lessen pauperism. He also insisted that the Industrial Schools Act, to be successful should be made compulsory, and that the granting of relief to the children of the poor should be accompanied by education.

Mr. FAWCETT opposed the motion, on the ground that the Government had ample information for legislation at its command in the reports of the Duke of Newcastle's commission, of Sir John Pakington's and other committees, and in reports of private societies. The result of another committee would be to retard legislation, for the immense mass of materials could not be dealt with this session, and the Government would therefore be precluded from legislating at the commencement of next session. At the same time, Mr. Fawcett agreed completely with the objects of the motion, and argued in favour of compulsory rating and compulsory attendance; for the present voluntary system, aided by State grants, he maintained, could never be developed into a comprehensive national system. His chief point was that children are kept from school by the ignorance, poverty, or selfishness of their parents, and compulsion alone could overcome these causes.

Mr. ARBUTHNOT thought that there had been quite sufficient, if not too much, inquiry already, but admitted that some measure was necessary. To a new description of school he was opposed, but suggested a further development of the existing system, under further minutes of Council.

Mr. BUXTON defended the existing system of education for the poor, the partial failure of which was owing to the apathy of parents; but he doubted whether attendance could be enforced in this country. Rather than adopt at once the somewhat revolutionary system advocated by Mr. Fawcett, he preferred to try the experiment in one or two large towns, and make the present system as efficient as possible.

Lord SANDON supported a committee, because the accounts of the condition of these destitute classes were so irreconcilable, and if it were not to be granted he suggested that the commissioners should be sent to four or five of the largest towns.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER endorsed Mr. Melly's account of the neglected educational condition of the children in our large towns as substantially correct. For that reason he deprecated the appointment of a committee. Enough was known to show the evils of the present system, and the time had come for the application of a legislative remedy. Unfortunately the business of the present session prevented the Government from dealing with the subject, but he gave it to be understood that they hoped next year to undertake the task, and that he adhered generally to the principles of the bill promoted by himself and Mr. Bruce. Among the leading considerations to which effect should be given were these—that public opinion must be studied in the matter; that opinion was adverse to grants expressly for religious teaching, but not to grants for secular education in denominational schools; that existing agencies must not be rudely superseded, but as far as possible incorporated as parts of a national system. The burden of rating must also be carefully adjusted, though, in his own opinion, a threepenny school-rate would soon be more than repaid in reduced poor and prison rates. As to compulsory education, he doubted its practicability in England, and told an amusing story to illustrate the natural resistance of the Anglo-Saxon race to such treatment. The Rev. Mr. FRASER having asserted that there was a law of compulsory attendance in New England, which Mr. ELIOT BURRITT denied, he (Mr. Forster) asked Mr. Adams, the American Minister, which was right. Mr. Adams agreed with Mr. Burritt that there was no such law, upon which Mr. Fraser was appealed to, and produced the Act. The fact was that the Act did exist, but was found to be so contrary to American feeling that no attempt had been made to enforce it for so long a time that everybody had forgotten all about it.

Mr. MUNDELL, speaking from his continental experience, supported the compulsory system. Sir J. PAKINGTON agreed with Mr. Forster that the time had passed for inquiry and had come for action. All that was required was a strong Government and an earnest Minister, and for the fulfilment of those conditions he looked hopefully to the present Administration. Mr. HENLEY differed from Sir J. Pakington, and advocated inquiry to settle controverted facts. He distrusted any additions to the already oppressive burdens of local taxation.

In the end Mr. Melly withdrew his motion.

FAGGOT VOTES IN SCOTLAND.

A discussion on the subject of faggot voting in Scotland followed. Mr. CRAUFORD led the attack on the "sham" votes manufactured by Tory landowners by special reference to Peeblesshire and Bute. This brought up the two members for those counties, Sir G. MONTGOMERY and Mr. DALRYMPLE, who, admitting the existence of fictitious votes, justified their manufacture on the ground that similar practices either were or had been resorted to by the Liberals. Lord H. SCOTT and Lord GARLICK justified their fathers' proceedings. A reference to the manufacture of 40s. freeholds by the Corn Law League drew Mr. BRIGHT into the matter. He pointed out that the 40s. freeholds were real property giving

constitutional votes, whereas the faggot votes were unconstitutional, being based notoriously on fictitious qualifications got up for the purpose. "What hypocrites we all are!" was Mr. HUNT's comment on the case. Liberals and Conservatives seemed to him equally culpable, and the best way would be to inquire into the subject in a committee. The Lord-Advocate condemned the practices in question, and hoped public opinion would suppress them without Parliamentary interference.

MAIL CONTRACTS.

A discussion ensued as to the recent American mail contracts entered into by the late Government with the Cunard and Inman lines. Lord HARTINGTON and Mr. GLADSTONE declined to accept any responsibility for these contracts. The Government would carry them out as a matter of official etiquette, but if the House desired an inquiry they would not object. The committee which Mr. SELLY asked for was granted by 115 to 36 votes. It was half-past two o'clock before the House broke up.

On Monday, Mr. T. CHAMBERS brought up a report from the committee appointed to inquire whether Sir Sydney Waterlow was qualified to sit and vote for the county of Dumfries, which reported that in their opinion he was disqualified.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mr. E. MIALI, the newly elected member for Bradford, took his seat. It was arranged that he should be introduced by Mr. W. E. Forster, but owing to a misunderstanding they did not meet before the Speaker called for the new member to be sworn. Mr. Miall was then sitting in the gallery within the House which is allotted to privileged strangers, talking with Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Dillwyn, and Mr. Illingworth. Mr. Gilpin and Mr. Illingworth forthwith led him, arm-in-arm, as is the custom, up the House. As soon as he made his appearance on the floor, a loud cheer broke from the Liberal benches, which was repeated again and again, and responded to from the Conservative side until the clerk's table was reached. Having been sworn, Mr. Miall shook hands with the Speaker, and then took his seat on one of the back benches by the side of Mr. Henry Richard.

At the same time Mr. Cunliffe took the oath and his seat as member for Bewdley.

THE FENIAN PRISONERS.

Sir J. HAY called attention to a report of a meeting at Limerick in aid of the Fenian prisoners, at which the Rev. Mr. Shanahan, a Catholic priest, had expressed sympathy with Fenianism, and the meeting had broken up with cheers for a republic, President Grant, Stephens, and Pigott. Mr. C. FORSTER read other portions of the speech to the House, and expressed his opinion that it was mere headless rhetoric, and that no notice should be taken of it. He promised, however, that the Government would inquire into the case.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RESIDENCES.

Mr. GLADSTONE could not inform Mr. Bentinck what sum would be required to purchase the ecclesiastical residences in Ireland, under the provisions of the 77th clause of the Irish Church Bill. For the number of those residences he referred Mr. Bentinck to the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Mr. BRUCE, in answer to Mr. Cartwright, said the Commission on the Factory Act had empowered the Secretary of State to extend to Scotch counties the inquiry into the extended application of the Act now being conducted.

THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS BILL.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER (Bradford) moved the second reading of the Endowed Schools Bill, and explained its objects and provisions at great length. He showed the difficulty of defining and providing for middle-class education without interfering with the means of providing for the education of the classes below the middle class. He also pointed out the importance of the question as affecting the interests of the class that were perhaps most of any interested in having the best obtainable education, inasmuch as this class chiefly supplied the great professions of the country. Quoting largely from the report of the Royal Commission, he showed the value of the property of the endowed schools, and the disgraceful state into which many of them had fallen. There were no less than 720 endowed grammar-schools, with a property valued for the gross income at 245,750*l.*, and a net income of 202,684*l.*, available for the purposes of education, in addition to exhibitions of the annual value of 14,264*l.* Besides this there were 2,175 foundations having schools attached to them, with a gross income of 247,480*l.*, of which perhaps one-half was applicable to educational purposes. The result was that there were, in round numbers, 3,000 establishments with a gross income of 598,000*l.*, of which about 340,000*l.* was applicable to educational purposes. It would at once be seen, that this large income, well bestowed, would have a most important influence on the education of the country. In conclusion, he pointed out the effect which the reforms to be instituted by the bill would have, especially in the matter of exhibitions to be given for merit alone, which would afford facilities for allowing boys showing talent to rise from the lowest to the best schools. He believed that the bill was regarded with apprehension in many quarters, but he begged to assure the House that well-managed schools had not the slightest to fear from its operation. He explained that the Commissioners to be appointed to carry out the bill would be merely the executive agents of the Government, but the schemes which they would frame would have to be ratified and carried out on the responsibility of the Government, after having been submitted to Parliament. The bill would be referred to a Select Committee, but not to take evidence.

Mr. BRERFORD HOPE said that the greatest alarm was felt with respect to the operation of the bill, more especially on account of the manner in which the Commissioners, who ought to be named in it, were to be appointed. He condemned the proposed plan for inspection and examination.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD thought that the House ought to have a voice in the nomination of the commissioners, who would have most responsible duties to discharge, in order that the real interests of the public might be provided for, instead of individual hobbies being gratified. He approved of the principle of the bill, but was glad that its details were to be referred to a select committee.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY was glad to find that both sides of the House recognised the position into which the endowed schools had fallen, and the necessity of applying a strong remedy if these valuable endowments were to become as available as they ought to be. He insisted on the Commissioners being named in the bill; and although he had received many representations with respect to the details of the bill, it would be better to reserve them for the committee. He was only anxious to see the bill made a good one.

After a lengthened discussion the bill was read a second time and referred to a select committee.

UNIVERSITY TESTS.

The adjourned debate on the University Tests Bill was resumed by

Sir R. PALMER, who said that as, in 1854, he had opposed the first introduction of Dissenters to the Universities—foreseeing that the demand would not stop there—so now would he oppose this bill (inevitable though he admitted it to be), if he believed that it would be subversive of the influence and authority of religion on the teaching of the University. But on this point he had changed his mind, and, holding that the disassociation of religion from the University teaching would be a national calamity, he denied that the bill would have that effect. Its promoters had always disavowed that object, and, in quoting from the declarations of one of its supporters, Sir Roundell was stimulated to admit that their disavowal was not stamped with sufficient clearness on the bill. The Christianity and the Church of England character of Convocation, University, and Colleges, were secured, not by tests, but by the statutes of the Universities and the colleges, which the bill did not in any way alter. Neither legally nor morally was the subscription test as reliable a security for the influence of religion on University teaching as the other securities which would remain untouched. But thinking that the importance of maintaining this connection should be more clearly expressed in the bill, he proposed to insert words recognising the Universities as places of religion and learning, and the necessity of maintaining them as such; and also to add two clauses, one of which would contain an undertaking for all lay professors against teaching anything contrary to the Divine authority of Holy Scripture and the doctrines of the Church of England.

Mr. G. O. MORGAN supported the bill, arguing that the Universities are national institutions, and not mere nurseries for the clergy. To the present system of tests he objected that they limited the area of selection for University offices and excluded from University prizes half, and that not the least intelligent portion, of the population. And while they startled men of tender consciences they were taken without scruple by sceptics and men on the verge of Romanism.

Mr. PLAYFAIR supported the bill by an appeal to the experience of the Scotch Universities, where the abolition of tests had brought the Universities into closer sympathy with the people without weakening their connection with the Church. No Roman Catholic or infidel had yet been elected to a professorial chair in Scotland. He urged the claims of Presbyterians to be admitted to the English Universities, and predicted for them a more vigorous life when these denominational barriers had been broken down.

The bill was opposed by Mr. NEWBOATS, and supported by Mr. FOWLER, who said that Mr. Mowbray had laid great stress on religious training, but in what did that training consist? In the words of one of the most distinguished students who had lately left Oxford, the prevailing tendency for years of the governors of that University had been directed against all religious earnestness from whatever quarter it proceeded. Wesley and his friends had been pelted with stones and mud, while Newman, who wished particularly to remain in the Church, had been treated with cold aversion. He, for one, denied that going to a college chapel constituted religious training, and he felt assured there would be found as much of that training in its best sense in the homes of the Nonconformists as among the members of the Church of England. He had simply to say, in conclusion, that although he listened with pleasure to the speech of the hon. and learned member for Richmond, he was afraid his second proposition would not meet the views of the Dissenters, who could hardly be expected to make the declaration to which he referred.

Mr. BRERFORD HOPE having moved the adjournment of the debate, the House divided.

For the adjournment	75
Against it	251
Majority	176

The announcement of the numbers was received with cheers.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, who rose amid cries of "Order," said that the question was one which peculiarly affected his constituency, and it had assumed a new complexion since the speech of his hon. and learned friend the member for Richmond. ("Order, order!")

The SPEAKER: The hon. member is out of order in now addressing the House.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: The motion for adjournment having been defeated, I was rising to speak upon the main question.

The SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman having made a motion, has exhausted his powers in this debate. (Laughter.)

Mr. NEWDEGATE, who rose amidst cries of "Spoke," said that he should conclude with a motion.

The SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman having spoken in this debate cannot make any motion. (Laughter.)

Mr. C. BENTINCK wished to point out to the House—

The SPEAKER: The hon. member having seconded a motion cannot speak again. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. C. BENTINCK rose to order. ("Chair!") He apprehended that having merely seconded the motion by a gesture, he was at liberty to address the House on the main question. (Hear, hear.)

The SPEAKER: The hon. member having seconded the motion is not entitled to address the House.

Mr. RAIKES moved the adjournment of the House, but at the suggestion of Mr. HARDY eventually withdrew it.

Mr. HARDY intimated that the Opposition, after the important amendments given notice of by Sir R. Palmer, would not divide against the second reading. Reviewing the small beginnings of this bill, he inferred that it was the precursor of a larger measure, and from a permissive would become compulsory; and he was unable to understand the complacency with which Sir R. Palmer regarded the intentions of its promoters. Mr. Hardy drew next a gloomy picture of the confusion and discord which would be caused by the introduction of persons of different religions into the governing bodies, and defended the title of the Universities to their endowments, as derived from the original founders through the Reformation. The end of this policy would be the secularisation of the endowments, and the Dissenters would gain no benefit from the concession they sought. As to Sir R. Palmer's amendments, they did not seem to be acceptable to the supporters of the bill, nor did he expect to be able to concur in them.

Mr. WALPOLE added that he, like Mr. Hardy, would suspend his opposition to the bill until he had seen the amendments; and the SOLICITOR-GENERAL intimated that he would agree to the first of the amendments, making it clearer that the bill was not intended to sever the connection between religion and University teaching; but the second amendment, embodying a negative test, he could not accept.

The bill was then read a second time.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at a quarter-past one o'clock.

BRADFORD ELECTION.

THE NOMINATION.

The nomination of candidates for the vacancy caused by the unseating of Mr. W. H. Ripley took place at Peekover-walk, Bradford, on Thursday morning. The morning was fine, but cold, with occasional slight falls of snow. The attendance was very great, being variously estimated at from 20,000 to 80,000. The hustings, which had never been removed since last November, were once more brought into use. The Mayor (Mr. West) occupied the central compartment. Mr. Thompson and his friends had the side which in November Messrs. Forster and Miall and their friends occupied, and the supporters of Mr. Miall took the other side. When Mr. Thompson arrived on the hustings at about a quarter to eleven, he was greeted with cheers from his own friends, and hootings, mingled with cockcrows, from his opponents. The cheers, cockcrows, and various other manifestations were kept up with more or less vigour till the proceedings commenced. Mr. Thompson was supported by Mr. Storey, Mr. Ripley, Mr. Semon, Mr. John Schofield, Mr. Mumford, Mr. T. Garnett, Mr. W. Peel, Mr. Atcheson, Mr. A. S. MacLaurin, Mr. B. Broughton, Mr. J. Behrens, Ald. M. Dawson, Mr. S. B. Anderton, and others; and on Mr. Miall's side were Mr. Titus Salt, Alderman Brown, Mr. R. Kell, Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., Alderman Law, Mr. J. V. Godwin, Alderman Scott, Mr. S. E. Siebel, Councillor Boothroyd, Mr. H. Illingworth, Mr. W. Byles, Mr. T. Greenwood, Mr. J. Wallwork, and others.

At eleven o'clock the MAYOR stood forward, and in the course of some opening remarks, made amid some interruption, said that his fellow-townsmen had generally borne an excellent character for purity, and he wished them to prove it at this election. He was sure that both the candidates and their friends shared in the wish that the election should be conducted on principles which would bear inspection afterwards. ("Hear," and cheers.) He again begged the people to give fair play to the speakers on both sides. (Hear, hear.) It was said that Englishmen liked fair play; but there would not be fair play if they refused to hear any speaker.

Mr. S. STOREY, who was received with loud cheers and groans, then nominated Mr. M. W. Thompson.

He said that a certain party in the borough—(groans) had prevented that peace and quietness—(renewed uproar)—which ought to prevail in order to develop the commercial prosperity of the town. (Cheers and counter cheers.) No sooner had Mr. Thompson been elected by universal suffrage on the nomination day—(disturbance)—and by a large majority of the voters on the polling-day, than this party set to work to keep up a system of agitation utterly inconsistent with the prosperity of that great commercial town. (Cheers and groans.) His party had treated such conduct with deserved contempt. They felt that it was not consistent to wage a war of that sort, so they let them have their fling, and the result was that it tended to disgust the common-sense of the inhabitants. They took no notice of this improper system of agitation until August last year, when they brought out as a candidate one of their own citizens.

Here a prolonged interruption took place, owing to the persons on the outskirts of the crowd, in obedience to some signals from the hustings, pressing towards the centre. The MAYOR called for order; and, after waiting some time, turned to Mr. Mumford, who was continuing to make the signals referred to, and said: "Now, Mr. Mumford, will you be quiet? You are the worst."

Mr. MUMFORD said that a person on the other side of the hustings began the signalling. Mr. THOMPSON, addressing the Mayor, said that if ever he was returned to Parliament he should vote for the doing away with public nominations.

A fight here took place, just below the hustings, for the possession of one of the large boards upheld amongst the Thompson party. The board was at last wrested from the bearer and trampled under foot. The tide of battle then turned, and one of Mr. Miall's boards was destroyed. The frantic commotion at last abated, and Mr. STOREY proceeded. He referred to Mr. Thompson's exemplary voting in Parliament, to the candidature of that "chivalrous knight," Mr. Ripley, on his retirement, and to "the honest and fair election of Mr. Ripley in November, though pursued with an envenomed personal malignity which had never ceased." He put Mr. Thompson before that assembly as an olive-branch, and he believed the people of Bradford would prefer him to "the apple of discord" on the other side. That army of 150 spies which their opponents had spread abroad in the borough to carry their blighting influence into every corner must be met by firmness and discretion on their part wherever they had influence. There was no loathsome act which it was possible for a man to do—(cheers)—which their opponents had not charged them with doing.

Mr. T. GARNETT seconded the nomination of Mr. Thompson. He called on them to throw back the slander that had been heaped upon them—to show that Mr. Ripley had been the choice of the majority of the people of Bradford, and that, as he had been unseated, Mr. Thompson was now their choice. He concluded by seconding the nomination of Mr. Thompson. Mr. Garnett's speech was only audible to a very few people immediately in front of the hustings, as the great mass of the crowd, which at this time numbered certainly not less than seventy thousand people, were engaged in cheering, hooting, and so forth.

Alderman BROWN then stood forward, and was received with tremendous cheering and waving of hats from the supporters of Mr. Miall. He said he had the honour to propose Mr. Edward Miall as a fit and proper person to represent the borough. Mr. Miall had been before the constituency for eighteen months, and his principles were so well known that it was not necessary to occupy time dealing with them. He is a gentleman with great intellectual power, and he has shown himself capable of dealing with all questions which relate particularly to civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.) He has always shown himself the friend of the people, and for the last thirty years he has been on the side of truth and justice. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) With the great question which is now before the House of Parliament, Mr. Miall is thoroughly conversant. For the last fifteen years he has been advocating the very measure which is now before the country, and he may be said to be the father of it. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Mr. Miall has on all occasions used his influence in the cause of justice and truth and righteousness. (Hear, hear.) He is a gentleman of great sagacity, and is able to discuss the questions which come before the country, and give his opinion on these matters in a manner which would convince those who heard him that he is the right man to send to Parliament on this occasion. (Cheers.) As the coadjutor and colleague of Mr. Forster, he will represent Bradford along with him in such a manner as no other borough in the kingdom will be able to out-do.

Mr. ALD. LAW seconded the nomination, and said he did so in no spirit of defiance or desire to catch the tone of contempt for an opponent which had been manifested by some he looked upon as friends before, and hoped to look upon as friends again. (Cheers.) He asked his townsmen to rise above petty jealousies, and consider which was the best man to send to represent them. They had a right to choose the man who would be the best able to support Mr. Forster, and he asked them, for great and imperial reasons, to return Mr. Miall, remembering that what was good for the country was good for Bradford. He asked them to consider that they had been told that great blame rested upon those on his side of the hustings for not letting peace prevail in the town. He said let them have truth and justice, and they would have peace. He trusted that the result of the election would be that those who had cast defiance at them would find that they had reckoned without their host.

He and his friends would accept the decision of the constituency if fairly and honestly given. He and his friends believed that Mr. Miall was not fairly defeated at the last election, else why were men brought to Gildersome to override them? He asked them to send to Parliament a man fit to be a worthy colleague to Mr. Foster. (Cheers.)

The MAYOR then called upon Mr. Thompson to address the electors; but a scene now took place in the crowd which effectually stopped the proceedings. The rioting is thus described in the *Leeds Mercury*:

It was in the midst of Mr. Law's speech that the real riot commenced. In the centre of the crowd another fight for rival boards had commenced. The different sections of the crowd were not able to charge at each other, but they followed what to them was the next best course. They surged violently to and fro, but it was not until they had made several efforts of this kind, that either party obtained the prize which they coveted. Each board passed into other hands than were likely to protect them just as Mr. Law finished; and they were immediately broken to pieces, and with these pieces—some of them of a good size—men were seen to deal blows at each other almost indiscriminately. There were about fifty policemen armed with staves—not batons—round the hustings; and there was a pretty general opinion that had they at this time forced their way through the people the disturbance which afterwards assumed alarming proportions might have been quelled. As it was the policemen were seen to do nothing; and meantime where the blows were being dealt out, the crowd pressed onwards on every side, and there was soon an open space in the centre of the gathering. This space increased in its size, and then over the space a stone was thrown. Some say that the stone came from the Miall side; others that it came from the Thompson side; but be this as it may, the first stone was soon followed by hundreds, and these came unmistakably from the Thompson gathering. On Mr. Thompson's side of the hustings many loose stones were lying about; on the opposite side there were scarcely any, and the consequence was that the greater number of Mr. Miall's supporters, searching for missiles, as some of them did, but finding none, were compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Those of Mr. Miall's men who remained picked up whatever came to their hands, and threw them in a sort of firing-in-retreat fashion at their pursuers. The stones were thrown by both men and women, and both men and women suffered; and, as usual, people suffered who were not to blame. After retreating for a short distance, many of the Miall people having found stones outside the ground, turned round, and for a few moments the throwing was pretty general on both sides. In vain the Mayor attempted to exercise authority from the hustings; and in the midst of the tumult some one was understood to demand a poll, and his worship declared the proceedings adjourned till Friday. Meantime a mutual assault had been made on the hustings. Stones rattled like hail against its woodwork, happily making more noise than doing injury; but that none of the occupants of the erection were hurt was perhaps due to the fact that, with one or two exceptions, they showed a keen appreciation of their danger. It was well they did so; for the stones that were thrown at them as they retired were ugly-looking and heavy. The police were, before the clearance of the hustings, busy at work; but the crowd had broken up into knots of assailants, and it was some minutes before their presence was felt. It is a pleasure to state that in their attempts to quell the disturbance they were warmly aided by some of the prominent supporters of the two candidates. While the throwing was at its height, Mr. Illingworth, M.P., and ex-Alderman Pollard leapt over the hustings, and made a not altogether unsuccessful attempt to induce the Miall party from returning to the attack. By about half-past twelve—after it had lasted nearly half-an-hour—the disturbance was at an end.

A large number of persons received injuries from the stones and sticks which were so freely thrown. The injuries received by most of them were slight cuts and bruises; but several of them received more serious wounds. Two persons were so badly hurt that it was thought best to take them to the infirmary, where they now are. One of them, a man named Wilkinson Waddington, thirty-six years of age, received a blow on the right eye with a stone, which so badly lacerated it that the unfortunate man will permanently lose the sight of the eye. John Robinson, forty-six years of age, living in Warwick-street, was very badly cut about the head and face.

Before the Mayor and the occupants of the hustings left, one hand was formally held up for each candidate, and a poll demanded on behalf of both.

In the afternoon the Mayor issued a placard announcing that he had obtained reinforcements of the police from other towns, and had arranged for military if necessary.

THE POLLING.

Every precaution was taken on Friday morning, when the polling took place, to ensure order and freedom of voting. Steps were taken to have the polling-booths well guarded for the protection of voters, but so far as could be learned, there was no attempt made at intimidation. The polling was gone through with ease and order; and the only blot upon it was that some eight persons attempted personation, and now await punishment. There was scarcely a drunken man to be seen in the town during the day, and no public-house whatever was engaged on Mr. Miall's side, and very few were engaged on the other side. In the committee-rooms there was much bustle, but, unlike former occasions, there was no confusion and no refreshments but what each man provided for himself or his neighbour shared with him. Great excitement prevailed in the town, but it was not of that dangerous kind which prevails when two candidates run a doubtful race. The success of Mr. Miall was never much in dispute. The

first return that was published rejoiced, and even astonished, his followers, by showing that he was a long way ahead, and although at times Mr. Thompson slightly improved his position, it soon became evident what would be the issue. Until the close of the poll, however, the interest centred in the polling did not abate. The hourly returns were eagerly scanned and commented upon by vast crowds of people, and the returns that came from both sides, as will be seen from the figures subjoined, did not materially differ. It is remarkable, says the *Leeds Mercury*, that the Irish electors, who polled almost to a man for Mr. Miall, gave their votes early, and with an orderliness that was not equalled on the part of their English brethren; while in the Irish quarter of the town, which was the scene of so many discreditable acts at the general election, the police were less needed than they were at other places. We give the returns as they were issued hourly:—

MR. MIALL'S RETURN.		
	Mr. Miall.	Mr. Thompson.
9.0	2,298	1,161
10.0	4,694	2,787
11.0	6,023	4,281
12.0	6,941	5,336
1.0	7,979	6,215
2.0	8,650	6,894
3.0	8,996	7,454
4.0	9,235	7,732

MR. THOMPSON'S RETURN.		
	Mr. Miall.	Mr. Thompson.
9.0	1,141	602
10.0	4,481	2,767
11.0	5,276	3,534
12.0	6,122	4,583
1.0	7,215	5,639
2.0	8,284	6,808
3.0	8,731	7,325

Mr. Thompson's committee published no statement at four o'clock.

At the close of the poll the defeated party proceeded to the Victoria Hotel, from which Mr. Thompson and several of his supporters addressed a vast gathering of people. Mr. Thompson said he was a beaten but not a disgraced candidate. He had 9,000 promises, and had reason to believe he should poll 10,000.

I blame nobody. (Cheers.) I find fault with nobody. (Cheers.) I thank those who redeemed their pledges and came up to the poll and voted for me. I thank my central committee and every other committee throughout this large borough that supported my interests and did the best they could for me. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

His heart was as warm to Bradford as ever. (Cheers.) Mr. Brown advised his friends to accept the decision in good humour. They would now for some time at least have peace. (Cheers.) Mr. Ripley, who was received with cheers and hisses, expressed his great regret that Mr. Thompson had not been returned, and went on to say:—

I hope the gentleman who has been elected our representative will do his duty in the way we expect from him. (Loud cheers.)—and I trust he will be enabled to do so. But so far as I am concerned I should just like to say that if that slander is repeated—that the last election, so far as I am concerned, was gained by bribery and treating—it is false. (Cheers and hooting)—and if the feeling which I believe exists on the part of a great many electors continues, the first opportunity I have I will test that matter personally. (Cheers and hooting.) I trust you will join with me in heartily thanking Mr. Thompson for coming forward and standing to contest this election. Mr. Thompson and I, although not successful, will, I am sure, endeavour to do our duty as citizens in connection with this great community, and I and he also will not be less anxious to serve you in any way that we can. (Cheers)—to the best of our ability.

Meantime, there being no doubt as to who was the successful man, Mr. Miall's prominent supporters were addressing a still larger gathering in the new Market-place. The speeches were brief. Every one seemed too glad to say much, and what was said was more to please the people, who were anxious to see and hear that their leaders rejoiced with them, than out of a desire to exult unduly over the victory, however famous. The speeches were made from a wagonette. It was intended that they should be delivered in Henry and Adam's Circus, but this erection was crowded so quickly, and was besieged by an even more numerous crowd, who were unable to obtain admission, that the meeting had to take place in the open-air.

Mr. SALT, who was greeted with great cheering, said:—

Gentlemen, this is a most glorious day for Bradford; I am proud of the place. (Cheers.) The working men have done their duty. They have proved themselves worthy of the franchise, and they have confirmed the opinion I had always held of them that they were worthy of it. (Cheers)—and that they only wanted to be trusted. You have done your duty, and I thank you sincerely. Not only Bradford, but England, will be proud of you. The committee worked like men; they have done their duty, and they are crowned with success. Now, three cheers for Miall! (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Mr. Ald. Brown said:—

We have achieved a great victory to-day. Mr. Salt has said the working men have done their duty. I thank them. It is to the working men we owe this great victory, and I hope they will always be proud of themselves and never will be bamboozled. This victory has been achieved by you on pure principles, for we have not had a single public-house open. (Cheers.) We have shown that we can conduct an election without the necessity of opening public-houses for committee-rooms. ("All honour to you, gentlemen," and cheers.) Now, I think this is a most important thing—something that we may well be proud of. I think it will never be forgotten in Bradford, and that it will be an

example for all future elections in this borough. Mr. Miall's committee thank you all for the great service you have done to them. (Cheers, and a voice: "We're well rewarded.")—and we hope and trust that you will show a kind and generous feeling towards our opponents. I hope that no unkind word or expression will be uttered to our opponents. (Cheers, and a voice: "No stone-throwing.") Aye, and no stone-throwing. Let us show that we can fight a battle fairly and honourably, and shake hands and be friends again. Be present at the hustings, and by your approbation ratify the great victory that has been achieved. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., said:—

We have not received the final result of the poll. We know enough, however, already. We know that Bradford has redeemed its character, and this evening, in the face of all intelligent England, we occupy a higher position than we have done in the past. The man we wanted will go to the House of Commons, and be received with the greatest warmth and cordiality by Gladstone. (Cheers)—by Bright and by Forster. (Cheers)—will be received with the greatest respect by the Liberal party, and more than that, he will take his place next week in the debate that is coming on there. (Cheers, and a voice: "That's what we want him there for.") Mr. Miall—I say it now in the moment of victory—is possessed of every quality you ought to desire and admire in a candidate and a representative. He is possessed of moral worth and all the graces that can adorn a man, and you may rely upon it he will devote all his extraordinary abilities to the service of the whole of this community, and not this community alone, because he knows that when England is prospering you are joining in that prosperity. This evening in the House of Commons, the intelligence that we are sending will be received with the greatest possible pleasure. (Cheers.) It strikes me that only one thing more is required to complete everything we have undertaken, and that is to show our opponents that we have been fighting for principle. (Cheers)—and that, having gained our end, we will maintain towards none of them any feelings of enmity whatever. (Cheers)—though we are willing to meet them on the same battle-field, and fight the same battle over. (Cheers.)

Mr. SICKLE also added a few words, and said that that election had not only resulted in the return of Mr. Miall, but had secured Mr. Forster's seat from further molestation. (Loud cheers.)

After a few words from Mr. Alderman LAW, the wagonette drove away amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the vast assembly. Whilst these proceedings were going on, the Circus was filled with people, who were briefly addressed by Mr. Whitehead and others.

DECLARATION OF THE POLL.

At six o'clock the declaration of the poll took place upon the hustings in Peckover-walk. A crowd of from 15,000 to 20,000 persons assembled—a very large proportion of which consisted of the supporters of Mr. Miall. On the opposite side there were no prominent members of Mr. Thompson's party, his executive having determined that it was advisable, after the proceedings of the preceding day, to refrain from attending. After the formalities had been gone through, and the customary appeal for silence made, which, as usual on these occasions, the crowd seemed to regard as an appeal to make the greater noise, the announcement was given.

The MAYOR, in making it, said: Fellow-townsmen,—A poll was demanded last evening for two gentlemen who were nominated to represent you. That poll has been taken to-day, and it has been taken most quietly and peaceably. (Cheers.) There never was an election in Bradford more properly conducted than this one has been to-day, and I thank you for having so conducted it. I have now to report to you the numbers that polled. The numbers are—

For Mr. Miall	9,243
For Mr. Thompson	7,806

Majority for Mr. Miall 1,437
I have therefore to declare that Mr. Edward Miall has been duly elected as a Burgess to serve in the Commons House of Parliament for the borough of Bradford, in the room of Mr. H. W. Ripley, whose election has been declared void. (Cheers and hisses.) I have further to state that it was my wish not to prolong this meeting, and I therefore said to both sides that I wished to do away with the customary formality of a vote of thanks to the Mayor. I have simply done my duty, and I thank you for the way in which you have done yours, and there I leave the matter. (Cheers.) And now I would take it as a very great pleasure if you would all disperse quietly to your homes.

The Mayor's remarks were only heard by those who crowded round him on the hustings, and the vast crowd seemed to have an idea that the customary speech-making would take place. As soon, however, as the occupants of the hustings left their standpoint, the multitude dispersed.

A large crowd followed the chief supporters of Mr. Miall. On reaching the end of Leeds-road, Mr. ROBERT KELL ascended the steps at the entrance to Messrs. Brooke and Co.'s warehouse, and said:—

In the name of Mr. Miall I thank you for the great work you have done this day. (Cheers.) Since the close of the poll this evening I have had a telegraphic despatch from him, in which he thanks you cordially and warmly for the great confidence you have shown in him. (Cheers)—once a comparative stranger to you, but now your honoured representative in Parliament. (Loud cheers.) I thank you on the part of the supporters of Mr. Miall for the manly and honourable course which you have taken at this election. (Cheers)—for the unceasing work which you have performed in the cause of Mr. Miall, and for the purity with which this election has been conducted. (Cheers.) And I am bound to say that I believe this election has been on both sides a perfectly pure election. (Cheers.) I have always given Mr. Thompson credit since he entered upon this struggle,

for an earnest desire to have at this election the perfectly pure and honest opinion of the people of Bradford. (Cheers.) I believe that has been thoroughly and completely carried out; and in Mr. Miall's name, and in the name of his supporters, I thank you for the noble work which you have done this day. (Cheers.) Now I have one favour to ask of you before we part, and that is this:—(a voice: "When is he coming?") Mr. Miall will be here in the course of a few days. (Loud cheers.) I should like you to understand that it is not true that Mr. Miall is in the town or near the town now. I know it has been reported that he was here; but I have been telegraphing to him to-day in London, where he has been all day in his office. (Cheers.) Now, I said I had a favour to ask of you. Yesterday we had an unfortunate disturbance in the borough. Every right-minded man must be anxious, above all things, at the present moment that the peace of the borough should be preserved. (Cheers.) I therefore ask, as a personal favour to Mr. Miall's supporters and to Mr. Miall himself, that you will now disperse, and go quietly to your homes, to congratulate yourselves upon the great victory which you have won. (Cheers.) Separate in an orderly manner; let us have no disturbance and no noise; let us have no undue elation, no crowding over the victory that has been achieved; but let us take it as the honest work of honest men, doing the business which the State has thrown upon them in an honest and independent way. (Cheers.)

On Friday evening the following telegram was received from Mr. Forster, M.P., who during the day had been made acquainted with the state of the poll at intervals:—"Mr. W. E. Forster to the Chairman of Mr. Miall's Committee: My most hearty congratulations and thanks to the 9,000 for the colleague they have sent me."

On Saturday eight men, who had been apprehended for throwing stones on the day of nomination, were brought up at the Borough Court, and held to bail to appear on Monday, on the ground that many of the persons injured are in the infirmary, and it is uncertain how their injuries may turn out. Six or seven men were also brought up for personating voters. Two or three were discharged, and the rest were held to bail, to appear on another day.

Mr. Thompson has issued an address, in which he says he cannot but feel disappointed at the result of the poll. Called upon by an immense meeting in St. George's Hall, he felt it his duty to place himself at the disposal of his fellow-townsmen. He had reason to believe that Mr. Ripley's friends in the recent contest would have given him their support, and the result of his canvass showed upwards of 9,300 promises. In conclusion, Mr. Thompson thanks his committee and the gentlemen who voted for him for their exertions, and expresses the hope that Bradford may yet be represented in Parliament by townsmen, who understand its trade and commercial requirements.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

Under the heading, "Edward Miall, M.P., for Bradford," the *Bradford Observer* says:—

"Let thine eye be single, and thy whole body shall be full of light." How often have many of us felt disposed to doubt this maxim, when we saw the clouds of uncertainty and defeat gather over the heads of the men who, in the protracted struggle that is now closed during this Parliament, have striven for no other end than that the ascertained wish of the Liberal party in this Radical Bradford should be carried into effect. The Six Hundred at Balaklava—the thin red line at Inkerman—did not deserve better of their country than the much-decried "firm of Kell, Illingworth and Co." deserve of this town. Through an adverse decision of the restricted and Palmerstonian constituency—through costly and harassing judicial inquiries—through the opposition of the beer-power, the money-power, and the bully-power—they have pursued their undiverted and unwavering course. They have succeeded, they were worthy to triumph, and with fair play they will always be victorious in Bradford. The fight that began in September, 1867, is concluded. We now know whether genuine Liberals, or a few so-called Liberals, backed by an unprincipled Tory mob, that would vote for anybody so long as he would not be a power on the right side, are to return the members for this borough. No more will secessionists dominate the constituency, which now presents the front of the re-united "United States" towards them. Whether it was a prudent choice or not, it was a magnanimous choice when Mr. Miall was fixed upon as the Liberal candidate for Bradford—a choice, we venture to say, that settles the business of the Irish Church. Being the indisputable nominee of the Liberal party in this town—as he was in 1867—all the members of that party should have loyally supported him, not to say that they should have been thankful that the foremost man on the foremost question of the day came before them to be supported. Mr. Miall aside, the refusal of a section of the Liberal party to adhere to the Liberal platform has led to all the strife, and excitement, and expense that have characterised the last year and a half; but at length the principle for which we have contended all along is established. We rejoice at it, and we have no doubt that, when the noise and dust of the battle have vanished, Liberals of all shades and sections will rejoice too, and that we shall be able to reunite ourselves "as we were."

In returning Mr. Miall Bradford has as good as settled the Irish Church question—as Bradford is somehow given to initiate or conclude great imperial questions—and becomes again the powerful and rather over-rated constituency it erewhile was. We may perhaps find matter of regret in the fact that we are now unfair upon the House of Commons. There is neither borough, county, nor university that can boast the capacity, eloquence, and worth of Forster plus Miall—Miall plus Forster. Our representation is over-weighted in ability, reputation, and influence. But Mr. Ripley may change all this in the year eighteen hundred and seventy odd, and cause us to blush for our member instead of for ourselves.

Mr. Miall will not, we are informed, come down to us until after Easter—indeed, it is very likely that the House of Commons will hear his voice some time before

we do. Well, we shall be proud to see him when he does come. Discounting Mr. Ripley—who will not be satisfied with less than an M.P. of his own, in his back cupboard—there is not, so far as we know, one Bradford man but will give the honourable member for Bradford a hearty reception. He is not the representative of Radicals, Whigs, or Tories, but of all these. He is M.P. for Bradford. His election has not cost one glass of beer, and we do not believe that one glass of beer has been given to prevent his becoming the member for Bradford. The election, so far as we know—and we know as much as most people—has been absolutely pure. Precautions were taken on the part of Mr. Miall's supporters, but these gentlemen will admit and be glad to testify that, as it turned out, nothing of the kind was necessary. The sincere and amiable gentleman—Mr. Thompson, to wit—who was put forward to represent Bradford, remains private gentleman, whose virtues and graces will compel our deference and attract our affection. We will not even chide him for his mistakes and misguidance. We have all made mistakes—said foolish and bitter things—done the things that we ought not to have done and left undone the things that we ought to have done—but there is no more immaculate name that we can forgive and forget and shake hands upon than the name of Edward Miall, the distinguished, blameless, and kind representative of Bradford.

The other local papers, the *Review* and the *Telegraph*, contain congratulatory articles in a like vein.

The *Leeds Mercury* expresses surprise at the decisiveness of the victory, and says that the figures at the close of the poll prove beyond question one or other of two things—either that the influence of the 7,000l. spent by Mr. Ripley must have been exceedingly great in procuring votes, or that the subsequent revelations and transactions have alienated a large portion of the people of Bradford from any sympathy with the party which he represented.

We do not know which is the real explanation, but there is the fact that while Mr. Miall polled nearly as many votes on this occasion as his successful rival polled at the last election, his opponent is in a minority smaller by 962 votes than that in which Mr. Miall himself was then left. This shows clearly enough, not only that the balance of sympathy has been altogether reversed, but that the party of Mr. Miall has had a large positive gain, and the party of Mr. Thompson or Mr. Ripley a large positive loss. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the suggestiveness of these figures.

While condoling with Mr. Thompson and his supporters, the *Mercury* expresses its satisfaction that Mr. Miall has been returned.

His long services in the cause of religious freedom entitle him to a seat in Parliament, and there is no man whose knowledge and grasp of principle will contribute more powerfully to the settlement of the questions now engaging, and likely for some years to engage, the attention of the Legislature. The people of Bradford have done themselves an honour, and the country a service, by returning him, and we heartily congratulate both him and them on such a termination to a long and toilsome struggle.

The *Daily News* remarks that Bradford treated till its brain was dizzy sent Mr. Ripley to the House of Commons—Bradford sobered and self-denying sends Mr. Miall by a much larger majority.

On this occasion an honourable understanding was drawn up and signed by both sides, pledging them to the use of none but honest means. The result is that Mr. Miall, who has never been near the borough through the whole contest, is returned by fifteen hundred majority over Mr. M. W. Thompson, who had the advantage of being personally in the field. Bradford has thus not only vindicated its tarnished name, but has done the State a service. Mr. Miall is wanted in Parliament at the present juncture. His exhaustive speech on bringing up the question of the Irish Church some years ago may be said to have been the turning point in the fortunes of religious equality in Ireland. It fixed the attention of Parliament and the country, and did much to ripen public opinion on the question. It showed, too, a mastery of the whole subject, only equalled by that shown by Mr. Gladstone in his measure and in the speech which introduced it. Mr. Miall re-enters Parliament at a time which is peculiarly auspicious for himself and fortunate for the country. An opportunity of usefulness is before him at once. In the ensuing ecclesiastical discussions he will speak with all the weight of long study and experience, and his knowledge both of the special subject of the Irish Church and of the special views of one-half the Protestantism of England will make his counsel invaluable to Parliament and the country.

The *Morning Star* congratulates the advanced Liberals of Bradford on their well-earned victory.

That victory has been achieved not only without resort to the arts of corruption, but with singular fidelity to the highest ideal of electoral purity. Mr. Miall himself took no personal part in the election. Not a public-house was hired—all the agencies which excited the reprobation of the judge in the late inquiry was carefully avoided. Mr. Miall's committee deserve the greatest possible credit for the courage and patience with which they have fought this battle. After two defeats—which for good reasons they declined to accept as defeats—they have elected the man of their choice, and he a man who will represent in Parliament the real mind and purpose of the electors of Bradford. Their courage has been rewarded as it deserved to be, and the issue will prove a service to the nation.

The *Daily Telegraph* says that coming after a contest which bribery had made notorious, the victory is rendered the more remarkable by the pure means through which it was won.

It will thus be seen that the political corruption of Bradford is but skin deep; and also that at heart the borough is thoroughly Liberal. In Mr. Miall, the electors have given Mr. Forster a worthy colleague. A man of unquestionable ability and the highest character, the new member has powerfully helped, by his speeches and his writings, to prepare a large section of his countrymen for the disestablishment of the Irish Church; and in the coming debates he may be expected to do good service.

The *Globe* (Conservative evening paper) thinks that Mr. Miall has well deserved his success.

His share in the election fights of that borough has been sustained with honour and dignity. Moreover, although we differ with Mr. Miall on most political questions, considering that we should have had to differ from Mr. Thompson, had he succeeded, almost as much, we are not sorry to see the editor of the *Nonconformist* in the House of Commons. We may be sure that what can be said in support of the principle of the Liberation Society will be said intelligently, and with a perfect freedom from personal acerbities, party bitterness, and sectarian bigotry.

The *John Bull* (High-Church) is not unhappy at the return of Mr. Miall for Bradford.

Mr. Thompson's opinions seem to be of a very uncertain kind; and it can hardly be a matter for regret that the great champion of disestablishment should be in the House to take part in the discussion of what is really his own measure.

The *Manchester Examiner and Times* congratulates the Liberals of Bradford on their triumphant victory. It is not their fault if, as Mr. Storey plaintively alleged on the hustings, the business of the town has been again and again interrupted by election contests. A new election in March is the fine that had to be paid for the illegal transactions of November.

If the awful guilt of disturbing the peace of the constituency can be fairly charged upon any party, it must rest with those who made a second contest necessary by the corruption they infused into the first, and who now, without the pretence of being forced to it by any imperious sense of public duty, without having a solitary principle to assert, destitute even of the courage which should enable them to say yes or no on the one question which engages the attention of the whole empire, have forced a contest for no other purpose than to gratify private revenge, and whitewash soiled reputations at the cost of the constituency.

This narrow, selfish, and ignoble policy has met with the rebuke which it deserved. Mr. Miall is not merely the victorious candidate: he has been returned by a majority which, proportionately to the number of electors on the register, as well as in absolute magnitude, is one of the largest that have yet been given for any successful candidate at any previous election in Bradford. He has polled 467 more votes than he obtained in November; within a dozen of the number which Mr. Ripley obtained as the result of four months' canvassing, an unlimited expenditure, and catarrhs of beer, and 1,503 more than those recorded for Mr. Thompson. The absolute number of votes given yesterday to Mr. Miall is 9,235, a wonderful aggregate considering the circumstances under which the battle was fought. Mr. Miall was absent from the borough throughout the election. There was nothing to deter him from presenting himself again to the electors, for he, at all events, had done nothing to be ashamed of; but his supporters gallantly resolved to dispense with his personal attendance, and to make him a present of the victory which they meant to win. Mr. Miall's opponent never came near to him. Though the contest was kept up with unflagging energy throughout the day the preponderance of the winning candidate was never for a moment placed in doubt, and a majority of fifteen hundred echoed the final verdict of the people.

By a singular coincidence, he will re-enter Parliament just in time to take part in the discussion on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill—a measure which embodies the views which, with an ability and a moderation acknowledged by all parties, he expounded in the House of Commons ten years ago. His return for Bradford is an act in season, and there is not a town in the United Kingdom where the news of his success will not be hailed with satisfaction, coupled with a grateful recognition of the enlightened and public-spirited exertions through which it had been won.

MEETING OF LADIES.

On Wednesday evening two meetings of the most novel and interesting character were held, one in the theatre of the Mechanics' Institute, and the other in the Temperance Hall, Bradford. The women of Bradford favourable to Mr. Miall some time back commenced a subscription to present that gentleman with a testimonial. Subscriptions were gathered in small amounts, the objects being to spread the contributions over a large area rather than seek for heavy sums. The result is that 340l. has been collected, the gift of between 4,000 and 5,000 of the women of Bradford. The meetings were held in order to ascertain the feeling of the subscribers as to what form the testimonial should take, and when it should be presented. The women mustered in large numbers, and both meetings were crowded with females of all ages and all ranks in life, but all neatly dressed and very respectable in appearance, some of the married women bringing their babies. Mr. Joshua Pollard (ex-alderman), presided over the meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, and Mr. M. Nelson at that in the Temperance Hall. The business was transacted before the male sex, with the exception of the chairman, were allowed to be present, but we understand the testimonial is to be given in books, and to be presented after the election. The speeches made by the ladies were to the point, and one of them, which our reporter heard, was an excellent specimen of the powers of the ladies for public speaking. There was the usual running accompaniment of "Hear, hear," "cheers," and "laughter," the latter predominating, the ladies appearing to be on excellent terms with one another, and highly relishing the novel treat they were enjoying. At the close of business, Mr. S. E. Sichel and Mr. W. Whitehead were introduced, and received with loud applause and the waving of handkerchiefs. Both of these gentlemen delivered addresses, exhorting the ladies to look well after their husbands for the next forty-eight hours, and to see that they came home and went to bed sober on the day of the nomination, and to prevent them from being "bottled," so that they could record their votes in favour of Mr. Miall. The ladies were also urged to attend the nomination in a body, and to hold up

their hands for Mr. Miall, which would count as well as those of men, and show their opponents that they were mistaken in supposing that the women of Bradford were not on the side of Mr. Miall. (Loud cries of "We will," one lady suggesting that they should provide their husbands with a good supper on the nomination day to get them home early.) Mr. Sichel and Mr. Whitehead afterwards went to the Temperance Hall, and addressed the meeting there, which was quite as enthusiastic a character as that in the Mechanics' Institute. They were heartily cheered on departing. A lady then recited a poem on the election, in which it was stated that while their opponents said how much Mr. Ripley had done for Bradford, they forgot to say what Bradford had done for him. (Laughter.) —*Leeds Mercury*.

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 17, 1869.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords the business was of a formal character, and only necessitated a sitting of twenty-five minutes' duration.

In the House of Commons Mr. LEATHAM, in a long and able speech, called the attention of the House to the expediency of adopting the Ballot for Parliamentary elections. The motion was seconded by Mr. Harcourt. After a debate, in which Sir George Grey, Lord C. Hamilton, Sir Henry Bulwer, Mr. Scourfield, Mr. C. Weggleson, Lord F. Cavendish, Mr. R. Torrens, Mr. Chadwick, and Sir F. Crossley took part, Mr. GLADSTONE said he wished that the matter should be left in abeyance for the present, as it was necessary that the committee should enter upon its work with perfect impartiality, and, besides, the object of Mr. Leatham's motion was already practically accomplished. The motion was then withdrawn. In the course of the debate Mr. CHRISTOPHER WEGGELIN startled the House with a very spirited defence of his conduct at Youghal.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE's attack upon the taxes on locomotion was so far successful that no one attempted to defend them in principle, but the humorous observations in which the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied to the appeals addressed to him, gave little promise of the immediate reduction of these imposts. The right hon. gentleman confessed himself the fourth captive to the bow and the spear of the member for London, and referred to the tax upon post-horses having outlived post-horses themselves; but he not obscurely hinted that when he opened his budget he would have to tell a tale of financial sorrow and embarrassment as would satisfy every one of his inability to relinquish any source of revenue.

Mr. WHALLEY then rose to propose the immediate abolition of the income-tax. Mr. Lowe replied to the member for Peterborough in a more serious strain. Mr. Whalley at first threatened to go to a division, but he afterwards abandoned that intention in deference (as he stated, greatly to the amusement of the House) to the opinion of the President of the Board of Trade.

Mr. GOSCHEN obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, but postponed any explanation of its provisions until the second reading.

A conversation upon the employment of women and children in print works, which was commenced by Mr. CHARLEY, elicited a general admission that the existing state of the law is unsatisfactory; and Mr. BRUCE was able to hold out hopes that the Government will be able to propose legislation upon the subject during the present session.

Mr. BRUCE nominated the Committee upon municipal and Parliamentary elections; a suggestion by Mr. MORRISON that the name of Mr. Fawcett should be added, meeting with no response; and the House reached the orders of the day.

The first of these was the bill for the repeal of the Irish Party Processions Act. The second reading of this measure was moved by Mr. W. JOHNSTON, in a clever and moderate speech, relieved by satirical allusions to recent events of Irish history, and specially to the attitude assumed by Conservative administrations towards the Orange societies. The O'DONOGHUE seconded the motion in an equally temperate spirit, and Sir F. HERGERT also gave his support to the bill, which was opposed by Mr. Serjeant DOWSE in a fervid but good-humoured address. Colonel STACPOOLE, having moved the adjournment of the debate, a division took place, and the postponement of the discussion was carried by a majority of 43—113 to 70. Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

Mr. Gladstone received two deputations yesterday, one from the Lord's Day Rest Association, against the opening of museums and picture-galleries on Sundays; and the other, which immediately followed it, praying him to use his influence to have such institutions opened. Mr. Gladstone told both deputations, in effect, that the subject was one less for the Government than for the public to deal with, but they were prepared, so far as it depended upon them, to offer all reasonable facilities on week-day evenings for the opening of national institutions to which the working classes and the general population might resort.

It seems that the Spanish Government is not disposed to allow civil marriage to be established by law in Spain, and a motion brought forward in the Cortes with that object has accordingly been withdrawn. The Minister of Justice stated that the Government did not condemn civil marriage, but thought other measures were necessary before it could be introduced.

TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of BRADFORD.

GENTLEMEN,—
In the free exercise of your suffrage, unsolicited by me, and in my absence, you have raised me to a position of which any man may be justly proud, by electing me as one of your representatives in the House of Commons.

I most heartily congratulate you, not because your choice has fallen upon me, but because in making your choice and adhering to it through a succession of events by which it has been severely tried, you have been animated by pure and lofty patriotism. In doing homage, through evil report and through good report, to your own political professions and principles, you have displayed an enthusiasm, an unwavering constancy, and a noble disinterestedness and self-sacrifice which entitle you to the admiration and gratitude of the country. Never has a constituency more thoroughly deserved such a triumph as you have achieved.

Gentlemen, no words of mine can express to you the overpowering gratitude I feel for the generous consideration I have received at your hands. I thank you one and all sincerely and fervently. I thank the chairmen and members of my Central Committee, the chairmen and members of the several Ward Committees, and the vast number of working men, Irish so far as English, who have so long, so laboriously, so indefatigably toiled for this glorious result. I hope to show the depth of my gratitude by my energetic and unremitting attention to my Parliamentary duties.

Important questions now before the House of Commons preclude all hope of my coming to Bradford before the close of the approaching debate on the Irish Church, when I shall esteem it my happy privilege to return my thanks to you in person.

Meanwhile, as Member for your Borough and as colleague of your universally-esteemed senior member, the Right Honourable W. R. Forster, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, let me ask that you allow the excitement of recent electoral struggles to subside as quickly and as entirely as possible. For myself, whenever I can render service to any of you in my Parliamentary capacity, I shall know no difference between supporters and opponents, and by giving earnest and diligent heed to your local affairs, I trust to make up to you any disadvantage it may be supposed you must sustain from my not being a townsman.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully and gratefully,

EDWARD MIALI.

Walden House, Forest Hill, S.E., March 12, 1869.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

* Mr. Miall, finding it impossible to answer singly the multitude of letters of congratulation on his election for Bradford which have been kindly sent him by his friends from all parts of the country, begs each of the writers to accept this public acknowledgment, together with an expression of his warmest thanks.

"A Midland Liberal."—Too late for this week.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1869.

SUMMARY.

THE debate on the second reading of the Government Irish Church Bill opens to-morrow evening. It must be admitted that the practice of catering to the political curiosity of country readers has reached a high state of perfection when some of the provincial papers are able to tell beforehand the drift and the length of Mr. Disraeli's speech, and the arrangements agreed to for conducting the debate. Penetrating even further, these ubiquitous gentlemen assure the public that the Lords will read the Bill a second time, but materially alter it in committee; that the Episcopal bench have passed a self-denying ordinance to abstain from voting; that the Bishop of Oxford is quite ready to accept the principle of Mr. Gladstone's measure; and that the main point of contention now is not whether the Irish Church shall be disestablished, but whether the private endowments surrendered to the "Church body" shall date from the Restoration, as pro-

posed in the bill, or from the Reformation, which, as including the Ulster Settlement, would very greatly swell the value of the property made over to the new Free Episcopal Church of Ireland. Leaving these speculative matters, it seems to be quite understood that before the adjournment next Tuesday, the second reading of the Bill will have been carried by more than a hundred majority. The apparent lack of adequate interest in a question regarded as already settled suggests that the debate may possibly come to a close as early as Monday evening.

In Ireland the opposition to the Irish Church Bill is feeble enough. The curates of the Establishment, who were thought to be well provided for in the compensatory clauses, have protested against the offers made to them; and Major Knox, the unseated member for Sligo, has begun an agitation for a separate Irish legislature, and is said to have many followers among the Protestant clergy, who are all for repeal. While combined action on the part of the members of the Irish Church seems still impossible, and the bishops are passively awaiting the advance of the tide, the clergy and the laity of one diocese, that of Down, have come together for deliberation. At a conference held at Belfast on Monday, in which every congregation was represented, the Bishop judiciously recommended that they should regard the verdict of the country as pronounced, prepare for the future, and confer with Mr. Gladstone to obtain a modification of some of the provisions of the Bill. This sagacious advice was not, however, accepted, and a resolution against all compromise, or even any discussion of the Bill, was adopted by the meeting. A Protestant "indignation" meeting has been held in Dublin "to protest against Mr. Gladstone's Spoliation Bill." If this cue should be taken generally by the Irish Churchmen, the staunch advocates of disendowment will not repine, and the danger of a material alteration of the measure in the interests of the Episcopalians in Ireland will be greatly diminished.

There have been two debates during the week on the second reading of the Solicitor-General's University Tests Bill, which was carried on Monday after a division on the question of adjournment (251 to 78) which sufficiently indicates the present feeling of the House of Commons on the subject. The most interesting feature of the discussion was the speech of Sir Roundell Palmer, who, while accepting the principle of the Bill as safe and politic, timidly suggests new and milder tests providing that nothing in the Act shall impair the obligation which now exists to keep up a system of "religious instruction, worship, and discipline"; and that all professors and lecturers shall make a declaration that they will teach nothing "opposed to the Divine authority of the Holy Scripture," or to the doctrines of the Church of England. These amendments met with no favour on either side of the House, and will probably be abandoned. So feeble is the opposition to the Bill of Sir John Coleridge in the Commons that some of its supporters are urging that the alteration in the statutes of the colleges, with a view to throw them open, shall be made compulsory instead of permission. "Many of the weaker brethren," remarks the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "would, we imagine, be considerably relieved if Parliament were to settle this matter for them once for all, and remove every kind of religious test from all foundations, except so far as a large number of them are still restricted to clergymen of the Established Church. However many bites we may make at the cherry, this is what it must come to at last; and the sooner it is done the better." With or without this provision, the Bill will go to the Upper House backed by an overwhelming majority of the Commons, and will precede the greater measure of the Session. There is good reason for believing that their Lordships will reluctantly, but definitely, accept it.

Both Houses continue to make progress with the business before them. The Lords have carefully revised the Habitual Criminals Bill in Committee—somewhat restricting the powers of the police in arresting convicts, making the position of ticket-of-leave men less onerous, and deciding that an occupier who harbours thieves shall be liable to a penalty on summary conviction, and that after one conviction the burden of proof in any case of suspicion shall be thrown on receivers of stolen goods. The Commons have accepted Mr. Forster's measure for dealing with cattle diseases; have passed several of the army estimates, after an elaborate explanation from Mr. Cardwell relative to our military establishments; and have read the Endowed Schools Bill a second time without a division. This measure has been referred to a Select Committee, and the lucid explanations given by the Vice-President of Council on Monday show

that the measure is very effective for its object, though it has some defects which will require future consideration. The Commissioners who are to carry out its provisions will have authority to classify, reorganise, and generally supervise the schools, but no powers of their own except those of investigation and suggestion. They will prepare reports and schemes, but it will rest with the Government of the day to decide whether they shall be adopted and passed on to Parliament for final sanction. It is remarkable that the Endowed Bill is generally acquiesced in by the Conservatives, and heartily supported as a wise and necessary measure by so conspicuous a member of the Opposition as Sir John Pakington.

The result of the Bradford election has surprised all parties. Mr. Miall was returned by the large majority of 1,437 over Mr. M. W. Thompson, whose success was hopeless from the first hour of polling. It was a pure election; and the issue has proved that Bradford remains true to its Liberal traditions. Elsewhere we give a full report of the proceedings. The riotous proceedings which unhappily attended the nomination, add fresh force to the demand for the abolition of this senseless electoral custom.

The election trials of the week have resulted in the unseating of six members—four Conservatives and two Liberals. Mr. Baron Martin has declared Beverley rotten to the core, and the election void at common law, though he entirely exonerates Sir Henry Edwards and Capt. Kennard, from any blame in the case. Beverley is to be specially reported to the House of Commons as hopelessly corrupt. At Blackburn the Conservative members have been unseated for wholesale intimidation by their agents; while at Hereford, the decision of the judge has gone against Messrs. Clive and Wyllie, not for any general bribery or treating, but in consequence of a single breakfast given by one of their prominent supporters. The judgment, though no doubt in accordance with the law, is rather hard upon the unseated members, as Mr. Justice Blackburn admitted. But it is a wholesome warning. A House of Committee Committee, which specially examined the subject, has declared Sir Sydney Waterlow disqualified in consequence of holding a Government contract at the time of his election. The same decision will apply to the case of Mr. Birley, the minority member for Manchester, who will, no doubt, resign his seat.

President Grant has found that it is not safe to form an Executive independent of Congress, and without taking into his counsels some of the professional politicians. His Cabinet has been recast. Mr. Stewart, the great New York merchant, disqualified for high office by his business relations, has been replaced as Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Boutwell, an advanced Republican of Massachusetts, a great foe of repudiation, and an able politician. From some cause at present unknown, Mr. Washburne also retires, and takes the French Embassy, and is succeeded as Secretary of State by Mr. Hamilton Fish, late Governor of New York, and a statesman of high culture and standing. General Rawlins takes the place of General Schofield as Secretary of War. The appointment of General Longstreet to an official position in New Orleans is the first public indication since his accession to office of General Grant's conciliatory tendencies, and will be highly appreciated by the South.

Some time since the suggestion was thrown out that Mr. Bright should be sent to the United States on a special mission to settle the Alabama question, and all other outstanding differences. What if the right hon. gentleman should help to accomplish this desirable object without leaving England? It is said that he has written to Senator Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, urging him to use his great influence in favour of a speedy settlement, and that he has received a most cordial response. The report as to the views of the new President is also encouraging. General Grant is believed to be distinctly in favour of putting an end to the Alabama difficulty, and to favour the plan of submitting the claims of both nations to a joint commission. "He may not," says the *New York Times*, "be satisfied with the Johnson-Clarendon convention in all its particulars; but it is not therefore to be supposed that two Liberal Administrations, such as now hold power in England and America, are incapable of arriving at terms of settlement."

At the recent banquet of the Colonial Society, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, with a singular lack of good taste, hinted at the possibility of some of our colonies finding themselves under the Stars and Stripes of the United States; to which Earl Granville playfully responded that it might be his want of sense which prevented him from opening negotiations with the American Minister

for the cession of British Canada. In truth, the new Confederation is emerging from the infantile condition. Not only is Nova Scotia becoming reconciled to its position as a member of the Dominion of Canada, but Newfoundland is about to spontaneously apply for admission.

THE EDUCATION PROBLEM.

THE question raised by Mr. Melly in the House of Commons on Friday in his lucid and interesting, but not altogether consistent, speech, is only one phase, though no doubt the most important, of the educational problem that demands a solution. How is the juvenile population of our large towns to be brought within reach of educational agencies? According to the statistics quoted by the hon. member for Stoke—the correctness of which is open to grave question—in three of our largest towns, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, with an aggregate population of nearly a million and a quarter, from 65,000 to 75,000 children are growing up entirely without education. They are, for the most part, young city Arabs—children who live in the streets. "In these densely populated places," says Mr. Melly, "the parochial system has broken down, and the ministers of the Gospel are overwhelmed by the impossibility of meeting the mass of misery, destitution, and irreligion which surrounds them. In many parts of those towns the wealthiest ratepayers are the pawnbroker at one corner of the street, and the gin-palace keeper, who sells halfpennyworths of gin to little children whose heads are hardly as high as his counter, at the other." The poor of these towns, and we suppose the remark may be applied to other populous places, are found to consist of two classes—those who cannot afford to send their children to school, and those who neglect to do so because they care nothing for education. To meet the case of the former Mr. Melly would provide free unsectarian municipal schools, and to overcome the latter he would employ compulsion. The hon. gentleman argues fairly enough, we think, that denominational schools do not and cannot reach a large proportion of this outlying population, owing partly to the objection of the poor to the plan of such institutions; and he contends, with equal reasonableness, that if such free municipal schools could be made successful, their cost would be a secondary consideration, for it would soon be saved out of the expenses of the police, gaols, and the administration of justice.

The case as stated by Mr. Melly, and those who support his views, seems to be simple enough. But their own speeches indicate that popular ignorance is only one of the causes of the great social evils they deplore. These evils are partly the offspring of vicious habits, the liquor traffic, and unwholesome dwellings, and exist to a large extent among the better educated section of the poor. But waiving for the present this consideration—which cannot, however, be lost sight of in dealing with so complex a problem as that before us—it is worthy of note that Mr. Melly frankly admits that it is not the lack of school accommodation in the three towns referred to, which accounts for the neglect of education by the poor. Take Liverpool as an example of the state of things that obtains equally in Manchester, Birmingham, and other large towns. "There are," says the honourable gentleman, "about 16,000 vacant places in the existing schools, of which not less than 8,000 are in the schools intended for the working classes. Religious differences cannot be pleaded; there is room for 5,000 children in the Protestant schools and for 2,400 young Roman Catholics. Neither can poverty be urged; without counting up the ragged, day and evening schools, there are 630 vacancies in the 'free' schools." In Manchester, we are told, 25,000 children live the life of the streets; in Birmingham a still smaller proportion of the children of the poor attend school than in Manchester. In all these places we have half-empty schools of all sorts, and it does not appear that it is the inefficiency of these institutions which causes the grievous failure. We cannot but think, therefore, that Mr. Melly answers himself, If the supply already far exceeds the demand, why indefinitely augment the supply? Why add "free municipal schools" to those already in existence, the advantages of which are so little used?

The member for Stoke, however, attaches far greater importance to his second remedy—the passing of a law which will compel the attendance of children in our large towns. Having erected these free municipal schools, which he would support to the extent of two-thirds by municipal rates, and one-third by Privy Council grants, he would give power to the schoolmaster, whom he would pay by results, through the school beadle appointed by him, or to the

municipal council of education, to summon every child in the streets of our large towns between the hours of nine and twelve in the morning, and two and five in the afternoon, to attend the school. Mr. Melly's crude suggestion was not discussed, for it is obviously impracticable, and would only "make confusion worse confounded." Nor does he himself appear to have much faith in his own panacea—for we find him quoting the case of the State of New York, where a similar state of things exists. In this great State there were, two years ago, 75,000 children who either did not attend any school at all, or whose instruction was limited to the briefest possible period, and out of 222,528 children enrolled, the average was only 91,984. Nevertheless a million sterling is spent in New York for educational purposes, there exists a complete system of national free schools, and compulsion is the law of the State. Throughout New England, however, coercion has been found to be so alien to American feeling, as well as impossible to carry out, that the compulsory law has become a dead letter; so much so that, as Mr. Forster showed on Friday in a remarkable anecdote, distinguished Americans were not even aware of its existence. The Vice-President of the Council justly remarks that such coercive expedients will not suit the genius, institutions, or habits of the English people. Indirectly under the Factory and Workshop Acts the principle of compulsory education is in operation, and applies to a large proportion of the children engaged in trades; and it is operative because it is indirect. Would it not, therefore, be wise to wait awhile and see how these enactments work, before having recourse to raids by police and beadies upon the children of our streets?

But is the alarmist picture drawn by Mr. Melly and other speakers on Friday night a correct one? If so, then the official information furnished by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission some years ago, must have greatly erred. The truth is, that statistics obtained after the fashion which has been followed in our large towns are not reliable. As is pointed out by Mr. Flint, the Registrar of the Commission referred to, "The mere counting of children who are in the streets between school hours (as Mr. Melly's policemen did in the twelve streets in Liverpool), and then setting these down as growing up uneducated because not at school, is a fallacy which ought never again to enter into the argument." "The battle of the figures," is, however, likely at length to come to an end. Though the Government cannot possibly deal with the education question this Session, and are naturally unwilling to indicate thus early the principles of the measure they may submit next Session, Mr. Forster announced on Friday night that the Council on Education have resolved to obtain accurate returns of existing educational appliances in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, which will set at rest the chronic dispute on the subject. With Mr. Flint, we regret that the metropolis should not be included in the proposed statistical inquiry; for it is quite as much needed in London as in the towns fixed upon. Of course we shall by this means learn something definite of the action and extent of the various philanthropic agencies which do really lay hold of the children of the poorest classes. Ragged-schools are not seminaries of education according to the regulation pattern, nor are they open to Government inspection, but they supply some moral training, as well as elementary instruction, to the young denizens of the streets, the beneficial influence of which no unprejudiced person will contest. That thirty thousand of poor children are thus drawn together and educated in the rough in this metropolis by voluntary agency is, make what deductions we please, a "great fact."

The promised statistics and Friday night's debate will each in their way help to ripen opinion for subsequent legislation on education. The work, above all, needs to be done deliberately, and in view of all the facts and requirements of the case. From both sides of the House on Friday there was an admission that great changes must be introduced in our educational system, and the general expression of a desire to destroy as little as possible, and to make the transition from the denominational to the national system gradual and easy. Mr. Adderley, who has great faith in the present Minutes, is quite ready to give an enabling power to large towns to rate themselves for elementary day-schools, and to authorise the police to take children from the streets before a magistrate, and, unless reason is shown to the contrary, to send them to school; and leading members of the Government, and probably a majority of their Liberal supporters, are in favour of compulsory rating. But the rating principle, in whatever shape introduced, cannot co-exist with the present system, and must eventually

supersede it. Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, however, has almost *carte blanche* on the subject. When they find so conspicuous a political opponent as Sir John Pakington proclaiming that the present system of primary education had been tried long enough, and that the new Government, by reason of their strength and the capacity of their leading members, are peculiarly fitted to bring in and pass a bold and comprehensive measure, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues will be encouraged in the determination to solve what Sir John speaks of as "the great problem of national education."

THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

THE formation, under distinguished auspices, of the Colonial Society, is an interesting and suggestive event. Gentlemen connected with individual colonies have been in the habit of associating together for definite social or political purposes; but we believe that until now an attempt has never been made to bring to one focus the representatives of all the colonies. We do not doubt that the attempt will be successful, but the precise measure of its success will depend on circumstances. To import into this country the local and party politics of any colony would be a huge mistake; but, nevertheless, it would be well if questions affecting the relations of the mother country and the colonies had been excepted from this sweeping rule. The advantages of a reading-room and a library, of the means of constant social intercourse, and of discussions on scientific, literary, and statistical subjects, are no doubt considerable. It would be folly to depreciate the importance of the society, even though it be established exclusively for these objects; but we shall regret if a veto is absolutely put on the discussion of questions with regard to which the public have now very imperfect materials for forming a judgment. The East India Association is composed of gentlemen of every shade of opinion with regard both to the past and to the present of our Indian policy. Yet they conduct their debates without acrimony, and have exerted a highly beneficial influence on recent legislation. The India Council, over which the Duke of Argyll presides, is not so successful an experiment as to make us impatient for the time when, as the Duke of Manchester anticipates, the Colonial Minister will be surrounded by a Council in which representatives of all the colonies will "express their opinion and give their advice upon the general policy of the empire." Talking councils which have no power to embody their talk in legislation had better be left to private hands; and it is probable that if an imperial question having its important colonial aspects were discussed in a body like the Colonial Society, a greater influence would be produced on the minds of statesmen and administrators than could be anticipated from a council which only enjoyed the shadow of power.

The value of a free interchange of opinion on this class of subjects would probably be small to the colonies themselves, but it would be great as regards public opinion at home, which is, generally speaking, better informed on any question of European politics than it is on any matter affecting the Government or the institutions of even the greatest dependencies of the British Crown. It is too much the fashion to assume that because Australia and Canada have self-governing institutions all the colonies are in possession of the rights which Lord Russell conceded to the one and Lord Grey to the other. The fact is that in the great majority the Crown dominates by means of nominated councils and local legislatures from which the principle of popular representation is rigidly excluded. The Colonial Society includes those great and free communities, which on the shores of the Atlantic, as well as in the Pacific, are the glory of the empire, but it also comprehends many scattered colonies and settlements which are virtually ruled by the Colonial Office. Canada and Australia are powerful enough to take care of themselves. They enjoy the blessings of free institutions, of a widely extended system of education, of impartial religious liberty, of a press scarcely inferior to our own. But as much cannot be said for the Straits Settlements, for Sierra Leone, for the Mauritius, and for not a few of the West India colonies. The Anglo-Saxons, wherever they go in considerable numbers, successfully assert their own rights; but if men of a different race and colour preponderate in any one colony, they are treated on different principles, and made subject to institutions, which, however necessary they may be, should be regarded only as temporary expe-

dients, and as stepping-stones to a higher level of political and civil life. It would be always desirable to avoid the obtrusion of personal squabbles and small party disputes, but it would clearly be an advantage if persons who could communicate information with respect to the principles of Government, and the social and economic laws which are at work in the Crown colonies could have such a platform as the Royal Geographical Society affords to scientific explorers or the Ethnological Society secures to the *seamans* who probe to their depths the subtlest theories of race. The capacity of Parliament for discussing these matters in detail is necessarily limited, and what is wanted is some preparatory school in which the minds, both of the public and of our most thoughtful legislators, may be educated and trained to a clearer perception of the national duty.

Lord Granville in his genial and interesting speech alluded to the difficulties which still beset the negotiations for the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territories to Canada. Proposals and counter-proposals have been made in any number, and have all been rejected. For twenty years past efforts have been made to open up to settlement a vast dominion, which Providence gave to Great Britain for a more beneficial purpose than that of the trapper and the voyageur. Two centuries have elapsed since Charles II. granted the Charter, and still the axe of the settler is only heard on the fringe of that great territory. The fur-trader roams through the unbroken solitude in search of wild animals; while civilisation, which is free to assert its power on every other part of the continent, is held at bay. We have enough confidence in the intelligence of our fellow countrymen to believe that if this question had been thoroughly and persistently discussed in some independent arena outside of the House of Commons, Lord Granville and several of his predecessors would have been saved an enormous amount of despatch-writing and of unproductive talk. Public opinion is now the real ruler of this kingdom, but it needs instruction, and instruction at the hands of those who can speak with authority. If the Colonial Society fulfils this object, it will merit a large share of public sympathy—if it does not then it must merely take its place as a social club. We feel persuaded that we only require to know our colonies better to like them more, and that if they have our full sympathy we shall be able to exercise over them an incalculable influence for good. Mr. Gladstone was eloquent in his recognition of the unity of men of British lineage. He said:—"I rejoice that the time has come when the facilities that bring into communication the remotest quarters of the globe have enabled you to organise a society which aims at developing that strong intercourse between the feelings and relationships which should unite all our colonies. Other clubs have in view the maintenance of social relations among friends or classes; your society contemplates a nobler object, for it seeks to promote in the present time and to hand down from generation to generation that great and noble sentiment and tradition—the unity of the British race." That is a sentiment which will be fervently re-echoed in many a hut in the backwoods. Wherever the Briton goes he carries with him his ancestral feeling, and the continued existence of that feeling through all the vicissitudes of future time is an element of moral strength which we cannot afford to lose. The faults of our distant kinsmen are the reflection of our own faults. We see our image in them; and if we pursue a higher national ideal they too will walk with us in the path of honour and duty.

REAL HOMES FOR WORKING MEN.

A VISIT TO GLADSTONE AND WATERLOO BUILDINGS.

THE work of providing suitable and healthy dwellings for the metropolitan industrial classes continues to progress. The valuable labours of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Poor have been earnestly followed up by Miss Burdett Coutts, the Trustees of the Peabody Fund, the Corporation of London, Sir Sydney Waterlow, and others. All these efforts have proved more or less successful, but none have succeeded to so large an extent as have those of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, an association which appears to have at last satisfactorily solved the problem as to whether good, roomy, and comfortable dwellings could be provided for working men at a moderate rental, and yet prove sufficiently remunerative as a commercial project. The experience of the Metropolitan Association on this point was most unfavourable. On an expenditure of about 800,000*l.* they had only realised a profit of two-and-a-half per cent. To increase this rate of profit various

economical expedients have had to be resorted to, all tending essentially to diminish the real comfort of the tenants. Thus, in the Peabody Buildings at Shadwell, the walls are covered with whitewash, instead of paper or paint; while in the tenements in Miss Burdett Coutts's new market, some of the rooms are so dark as to actually require the use of a candle at mid-day. Such things tend to defeat the praiseworthy objects of those who desire to see the labouring classes better housed and provided for. What is required is the maximum of comfort and convenience at a minimum of cost. This is what the Industrial Dwellings Company, of which Sir Sydney Waterlow is chairman, seeks to accomplish. How far the members have succeeded, is indicated by the great and increasing demand for the tenements belonging to them. For every dwelling becoming vacant there are nearly a dozen would-be tenants. Among the latest erections of the company are two known as Gladstone and Waterloo Buildings. The first of these, a huge group of buildings, capable of accommodating 168 families, is situated in Willow-street, a once obscure and miserable-looking thoroughfare running through that part of Finsbury nearest to Shoreditch and Hoxton. The locality is one of the most overcrowded and poverty-stricken in the whole metropolis, the numerous demolitions which have recently taken place in connection with the extension of the North London railway from Dalston to Broad-street, to say nothing of those effected in the vicinity of the Bishopsgate-street terminus of the Great Eastern Railway, having deprived large numbers of working-class families of their usual habitations, and tended enormously to enhance the general cost of lodging accommodation, however inferior or defective. On the eastern side of the buildings is to be found an immense labyrinth of low, squalid, and repulsive-looking courts and lanes, stretching somewhat in the form of a parallelogram, from the City of London Theatre to Shoreditch Church, and bounded on one side by crowded, noisy Shoreditch, on the other by the Curtain-road, the great centre of the metropolitan furniture manufacture. In this neighbourhood the hardened thief and the brazen-faced courtesan continually jostle the honest and industrious artisan, whose children have no playgrounds save those occasionally frequented by the infant Arabs of the streets, and whose lodging generally has a dingy, cadger-haunted bearing, or some other vile nest of profligacy or infamy, for its next-door neighbour. It is very hard indeed for the workman that he should be compelled, by the exigencies of his position, to dwell among such company, to pay an excessively high rent for inferior accommodation, and, after all, to be lodged more like a pig or a dog than a human being. The wonder is, not that in such scenes social demoralisation is on the increase, or that the labours of the religious missionary are almost unheeded, but that the mischief is not a hundredfold greater than actually is the case. To enable the working men to escape from such demoralising influences, is of far greater importance than even the providing of decent homes for the indigent poor. The artisans know and feel this; hence their extreme eagerness to procure tenements in such structures as Gladstone-buildings, where they can appreciate and enjoy the comforts provided for them. Certainly, the mere external appearance of the Finsbury edifice is strongly indicative of the significant contrast furnished by its cheery-looking apartments, and the dark, unhealthy, and wretched hovels, above which the lofty walls of the new buildings so proudly tower. The pile termed "Gladstone-buildings" consists of six large blocks of dwellings, each about six or seven storeys in height, and erected in a strong and most substantial manner. By the frequent introduction of external staircases and central balconies great variety is given to the appearance of the front, and the monotonous, barrack-like aspect, once so much complained of, becomes thereby, to a considerable extent avoided. Each block has its own staircase and interior arrangements. There are several tenements on each floor, the tenements being as completely separated from each other as if they were so many distinct houses in a street. Take the first floor for instance. Ascending the stone staircase, leading from the street, we find ourselves on a large and spacious balcony, from which the doorways of several tenements are to be seen. Knocking at one of these doors, we are admitted into the parlour, a nice, cosy, comfortably furnished room, light, well-ventilated, and cheerful looking. The walls are properly papered, the mantelpiece is painted in imitation of marble, and altogether the place has the aspect of a well-to-do tradesman's private residence. Stepping thence into the living room, the same features again present themselves. Here the fireplace is fitted with oven and boiler. The same thoughtfulness is visible also in the bedroom. Everywhere the comfort and convenience of the tenants appear to have been most

carefully studied. In the kitchen this is even more clearly perceptible. In one corner is a small copper for washing purposes; close by is a sink, with water tap and other appliances. There is also a water-closet, water cistern, receptacle for coals, dust-shoot, and other conveniences. The drainage is complete, and, by means of air-shafts, the closet arrangements are rendered literally perfect. Each room has its own window, and the doors, cupboards, and windows have been so placed as to admit of a suitable arrangement of the tenant's furniture.

Proceeding to the summit of the building, we find the spacious roof converted into a kind of terrace, paved with gravel, and forming a commodious drying ground for clothes, the chimneys being raised about ten or twelve feet over the level of the roof. It is also used as a playground by the children of the tenants, and during the fine summer evenings the workmen will resort hither, as at the other buildings, for the purpose of smoking their pipes or reading their newspapers. Glancing over the lofty parapet on the scene below, the crowds of small, dingy houses, little better than kennels, with their miserable yards, crowded with dust-heaps and refuse, appear far more hideous and utterly comfortable by the mere contrast; and one cannot help reflecting how vast would be the improvement, socially, morally, and intellectually, were the thousands of wretched dwellings in which so many of the better class of artisans are now compelled to reside, swept away and replaced by others of an improved character, such as those in which we now find ourselves. As we retrace our steps, we notice that, unlike many more pretentious edifices, the work of improvement has not been confined to the front and exterior, but extends also to the back. The ordinary yard, with the confined space and dilapidated walls, its open waterbut and reeking dustbin, has disappeared, and become replaced by a clean, open space, inclosed by neat iron rails from the back street. In the recessed spaces between the washhouses or kitchens on each of the upper floors is a stone landing or platform, on which the heavy furniture of the occupants is landed, by means of a rope, fall, and pulley, working from a beam placed on the top of the building. Similar structures have also been created in St. Pancras-road, King's Cross-road, Wapping, Southwark, City-road, Greenwich, and elsewhere, the number of tenements in these being nearly 400, affording accommodation to about 2,000 individuals. A similar pile of buildings is also to be erected in Ebury-street, Pimlico. This, when completed, will accommodate upwards of 100 families. In these structures, artificial stone has been largely used in place of brick, thereby lessening the cost of erection.

Even yet more interesting, if not more important, is the experiment commenced by the Industrial Dwellings Company in Wilmot-street, Bethnal-green. Here their builder, Mr. Allen, of Finsbury, has erected three blocks of really pretty and attractive-looking dwellings, strongly resembling the particular description of residences in the suburbs inhabited by clerks, managers, and tradesmen. They have been named Waterloo-buildings. No one, unless personally apprised of the fact, would suspect them to be the dwellings of artisans. They are three storeys in height, the lower floor being below the level of the pavement, and reached by descending the steps leading from the street. In front are small gardens, protected by iron railings, the approaches to the upper floors being by flights of steps leading to large and handsome porches. These porches contain the doors of the various tenements, but when seen from the street only one door is visible. The windows of the first floor are provided with elegant flower-boxes of stone. At the back of the houses are several good-sized gardens, the larger portion of which is divided among the first-floor tenants, those on the ground-floor having also the gardens in front, the tenants on the upper floor possessing the exclusive use of the roof, which is, as are the interior arrangements of the various tenements, constructed on precisely the same principles, and in the same manner as at Gladstone-buildings. The rents vary from 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per week, including all rates and taxes. This may appear high, yet it is considerably below what is charged for very inferior accommodation in the same neighbourhood. Two shillings and sixpence to three shillings forms the customary rent of even the most miserable rooms. In fact, the labouring classes pay far more heavily in proportion for their dwellings than do the middle or upper classes. In many cases they can afford the necessary rent, but they cannot obtain suitable dwellings. For once, political economy has been at fault, the supply failing to meet the demand. The theory acted upon by the Industrial Dwellings Company in the buildings is that the wisest course of operations is to endeavour, in the first place, to meet the wants

of that portion of the working class most worth working for—the mechanics earning from 1*l.* 5*s.* to 2*l.* per week; because as the pressure on this class is lightened and better accommodation provided for their use, the class immediately beneath them will remove into the quarters from which they gradually migrate; the process being repeated again and again until at last the lowest grade of all, those who may emphatically be described as belonging to the lower orders, and who are least likely to appreciate the comforts of a decent home, will slowly, but surely, receive their share of the benefits enjoyed proportionately by those above them.

above them.

The beneficial influence of the improved dwellings, no matter by whom erected, on the habits and morals of the inmates is astonishing, almost incredible. In one of the reports issued by the Trustees of the Peabody Fund, we are told that satisfactory evidence of this becomes every day more evident "in the peaceful deportment of the tenants, the improved order within their apartments, and the disappearance of excess of all kinds." The improvement in the health of the tenants is also most remarkable. Compared with the rates of sickness and mortality prevailing in the immediate neighbourhood, that existing in the new dwellings is incredibly low. While in some adjoining streets and lanes the houses are never free from fever, in the improved dwellings disease is scarcely known. Everywhere the tenants seem happy and comfortable, to an extent seldom witnessed elsewhere; and seeing this, marking the marvellously favourable results effected by the erection of these dwellings, it is much to be wished that their number could become speedily increased, the more so now that it has been proved beyond all question, that—merely regarded as commercial speculations—they can be made to prove sufficiently remunerative to those projecting them. If the metropolitan artisans could apply the well-known principle of co-operation, which has proved so remarkably successful in the establishment of grocery stores, to the erection of such dwellings as those which have just been completed in Finsbury and Bethnal-green, they would not only obtain comfortable and healthy residences for themselves, or provide secure and profitable investments for their savings, but they would also assist in solving a great social problem, and become largely instrumental in effecting the elevation of their order, not merely in the metropolis, but throughout the whole kingdom.

FRANCE.

FRANCE.
The French Treaty of Commerce with England is to be made the subject of a special inquiry in France, so far as regards woven goods. A committee is to be appointed to examine the question whether the unsatisfactory state of French industry in this branch of manufacture is "really owing to the conditions under which textile fabrics are admitted from abroad." This step was suggested by the Minister of Commerce, and has been approved by the Emperor.

One of the Democratic candidates for the department of the Isère thought proper to print a little *brochure* about his candidature, and to distribute it among his friends at Burgoin. The next morning the commissary, in full dress, accompanied by half a dozen satellites, visited the Democratic *cafés* and wineshops, and ordered the landlords, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, to deliver up the obnoxious *brochures*!

AMERICA.

AMERICA.
The retirement of Mr. Alexander Stewart from President Grant's Cabinet has been followed by the resignations of Mr. Elihu Washburne, Secretary of the Treasury, and General Schofield, Secretary of War. These resignations, however, do not indicate any disagreement in the Cabinet, or even a Ministerial difficulty. Mr. Washburne, it is stated, was anxious to go to Paris as Minister of the United States, and it was perfectly understood that the retention of General Schofield in the office he held under President Johnson was a temporary arrangement. Mr. Washburne's wish is to be gratified. He will be succeeded by Mr. George S. Boutwell, one of the most distinguished members of the Radical section of the Republican party. Mr. Stewart is replaced by Mr. Hamilton Fish, a moderate Republican; and General Rawlins goes to the War Office. Mr. Andrew G. Curtin is appointed as Minister to Russia, and it is by no means improbable that a change will be made in England. The President has appointed General Longstreet, the well-known Confederate officer, Surveyor of Customs at New Orleans.

General Schenck's Finance Bill, as amended, has been passed by the House of Representatives. The section legalising gold contracts is struck out.

A resolution has been introduced by Mr. Banks in favour of recognising the independence of Cuba, and has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The House has agreed to a concurrent resolution to adjourn until the 6th of April.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

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A Christian Church is to be erected at Nazareth.
The estimated cost is 2,000*l.*, and towards that
amount 1,820*l.* have been received.

A normal school is being established by the Government of Madras for Hindoo females, religious teaching being strictly excluded.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces of India states that the apprehensions of famine have now ceased. The condition of the Central Provinces and Punjab has also much improved.

THE CAPRICES OF CRUELTY.—A woman of Jemappes has just been arrested on a charge of having caused the death of one of her daughter's children by thrusting pins into its head.

LORD NAPIER and THEODORE.—Referring to a statement made by Mr. Rassam, that Lord Napier of Magdala accepted the cattle and sheep sent by Theodore, after the captives of Magdala were safe in the hands of the English army, Lord Napier has officially reported to the Secretary of State that Mr. Rassam's version of the transaction is incorrect.

THE TUNNEL THROUGH MONT CENIS. — Steady progress continues to be made with the works of the great tunnel through Mont Cenis. At the end of last month 9,386 metres had been completed, viz., 5,474 metres at the south end, and 3,912 at the north. The number of metres still to be excavated is 2,836. The opening of the tunnel through its entire length may be expected to take place by the month of July, 1871, or perhaps earlier, owing to the improvements which are constantly taking place in the manner of working.

TWENTY-ONE MURDERS IN TEN DAYS.—A letter from Lafayette, dated Feb. 24, in the *New York Times*, gives the following picture of the state of crime in Indiana:—"The extraordinary prevalence of crime in nearly all parts of our State still continues to engross the public mind in Indiana. Twenty-one murders were committed in Indiana in the course of the past ten days. In ten of these cases only were the murderers arrested; in five others they were well known to the authorities, but succeeded in making good their escape, and in six cases the assassins are not even known, and all efforts to detect and apprehend them have been fruitless."

SCARBOROUGH.—On Thursday Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Bart., was elected without opposition, to fill the seat vacated by the fatal accident to his father in the hunting-field. The Right Hon. Milner Gibson had been invited, but that gentleman declined to oppose Sir Harcourt, who is an advanced Liberal. The candidate was declared duly elected. He is in favour of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill, of the Ballot, of extension of education, and of restoring the compound householder. Sir Harcourt was the elected candidate for Thirak.

LANCASHIRE. — The twenty-four Conservative members returned for Lancashire celebrated their recent successes on Wednesday evening, at the Langham Hotel, by a grand banquet, which was presided over by the senior of their body, Colonel the Right Hon. J. Wilson-Patten.

BREWLEY.—The vacancy for this borough caused by the unseating of Sir R. Glass, was filled on Friday. The Conservative candidate, Mr. Cunliffe, was elected, obtaining 465 votes against 448 polled by the Liberal, Major Anson. The latter made a speech, in which he expressed his conviction that he had been legally elected, and promised the townspeople that they would have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Justice Blackburn again before long.

MARYLEBONE.—Dr. Humphry Sandwith writes to the *Star* to say that although he paid two-thirds of the cost of his recent attempt to get into Parliament for Marylebone, he does not intend to do so again. If Marylebone, or any other constituency, wants him, he gives notice that he will not go to the House of Commons unless all his expenses are defrayed. If people think he is not worth the money (he adds) they had better look out for some one who is, and they need not look very far.

LONDONDERRY.—On Friday a banquet was given to Serjeant Dowse, M.P., in the Corporation Hall, Londonderry, to congratulate him on his success in gaining the representation of that city on Liberal principles. Sir Edward Reid, late mayor, presided, and it was the most significant meeting of the kind held for many years in that part of the province.

DRUGHEDA.—Mr. T. Whitworth (Liberal, and son of the unseated member), was on Monday elected for Drogheda without opposition. Sir A. McClintock, the late Conservative candidate, has been invited to stand again, but declined, fearing there might be more rioting.

ELECTION PETITIONS.

BEVERLEY.—On Thursday the election petition in this case was decided. Sir Henry Edwards swore that he had not the remotest idea as to corruption at municipal elections; he had always protested against anything of the sort. Captain Kennard was a personal friend, and he entered into a thorough coalition with him. He sent 600*l.* to a bank in Beverley before the election for election purposes: a balance of 193*l.* now remained, and there were no outstanding accounts. There never was a purer election than the last at Beverley; he declared this in the presence of his God. Mr. Baron Martin decided that the election of Sir H. Edwards and Captain Kennard was void at common law, without any recourse to the new statute. Nearly a thousand voters were bribed at the municipal election, and he believed that a great number voted under the general influence of money at the Parliamentary election. He believed that the corruption at the municipal election had been purposely

kept back from Sir H. Edwards and Captain Kennard, and he should have great pleasure in reporting that no corrupt practices had been proved to have been committed with the knowledge of those gentlemen. He should make a special report to the Speaker that there was reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed in the borough. It would be for the House of Commons and the Attorney-General to decide what course should be pursued. The costs would follow the event.

BLACKBURN.—The election of Messrs. Hornby and Fielden, the Conservative members for Blackburn, was yesterday declared void on the ground of intimidation.

HEREFORD.—The two Liberal sitting members for Hereford, Mr. Clive and Mr. Wyllie, were unseated on Monday. Mr. Justice Blackburn thought the evidence of bribery was not satisfactory; the principal witness in support of that charge, O'Hara, might possibly, his lordship thought, speak the truth, but it could only be by accident. Mr. Harrison's breakfast, to which the judge said everybody and everybody's friend appeared to have been invited, was the main point upon which the decision turned. His lordship said it was no compliment to his common sense to ask him to believe that the breakfast was not given to influence the election, and he could not resist the proof of Mr. Harrison's agency. He was sorry for the members, whom he exonerated personally, and also for some of their unpaid agents. The judge commented very strongly upon the way in which the petitioners' case had been got up, finding fault especially with the allegation of 184 cases of bribery, when only six of those cases had been gone into. He therefore ordered each party to pay their own costs.

OLDHAM.—The petition against the return of Mr. Hibbert and Mr. Platt, the Liberal sitting members, was opened yesterday before Mr. Justice Blackburn. The seats are claimed by the petitioners, Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Spinks, the Conservative candidates at the last election. The inquiry resolves itself into a scrutiny of votes. Mr. Hibbert's majority over Mr. Cobbett was twenty-four, and over Mr. Spinks, fifty-six. Mr. Platt's majority were eight and twenty-four. The grounds of objection to votes are personation, want of residence, corrupt payment of rates, payment of expenses, receipt of parochial relief, and legal incapacity.

KING'S LYNN.—The inquiry at Lynn was commenced yesterday. Lavish treating is charged against the supporters of Mr. Bourke, the Conservative member, and there are other allegations.

Some very interesting information about the criminal classes of the metropolis appeared in the *Times* on Wednesday and Friday last. An inspector of cheap lodging-houses, an inspector of police, and one of the cleverest sergeants of detectives were placed by the authorities of Scotland-yard at the disposal of one who was desirous of knowing something about thieves' houses, leaving-shops, low beerhouses, &c. The exploration occupied them three nights and part of one day. When the *Times* informant started, he thought he knew London perfectly; afterwards he came to the conclusion that he knew as little of it as of Bokhara or Samarcand. We insert brief extracts from the letters :—

THE POLICE AND INCORRIGIBLE CRIMINALS.

THE POLICE AND INCORRIGIBLE CRIMINALS.

An active and intelligent member of the force may see two notorious burglars going along a street at midnight. He can't stop them. All that he can do is to follow them as secretly as possible, and watch them try door after door with skeleton keys. He waits till he meets with the regular constable, whom of course the burglars have watched off his beat, and makes his arrest sometimes easily, sometimes not without a desperate resistance. Then follows the old story. Housebreaking implements are found upon the prisoners, previous convictions are proved against them, and they get three months' imprisonment, with hard labour. Before they are out of prison two days the same detective who made their capture may again see them late at night lurking about villas, but if they go away as he comes up he has no power to touch them. If they persist in loitering he can, of course, arrest them, but this the thieves never can, but walk off, merely balked one night or so of their intended booty. In the same way there are recognised haunts and thieves' houses in London, which are as well known to the police as the Bank, and which are in fact visited by the police every night. Some are occupied only by convicted thieves—men whom the police know to live by robbery every day, and who will go out on their chance of larceny each successive morning. Yet, unless there is a specific charge against an individual or a suspicion amounting to an almost legal certainty of his having committed a recent crime, the police have no power to ask these vagabonds a single question.

BEERHOUSES AND CRIMINALS.

BEERHOUSES AND CRIMINALS.
Over the beershops the police have no power in any way. If a house with a spirit licence harbour thieves, or is even what is called a disorderly house—that is, keeps open at all late beyond the usual hours, or serves men or women with liquor when they are already drunk—it is reported on the bench of magistrates and the spirit licence is refused. Over the beer licence the Excise only has power, and as long as a man is willing to pay for it he gets it, no matter what his character. The writer then points out how the law as it stands at present enables the low beershop-keeper to act in defiance both of Excise and police:—With my companions I visited many of these houses. Take a high-class one, for instance. It is near an East-end road. It is brightly lighted, clean, and comfortable. The landlord and landlady are behind the little bar. Both are known to be convicted thieves, both are known to be lucrative receivers and expert disposers of stolen goods. Let us pass into the parlour. It is a very wide, well-furnished coffee-room, the walls of which are amply garnished with glaring pictures, and at the tables in it

some eight or nine well-dressed men are sitting over their cigars and beer. These were the *élite* of the swell mob. There was nothing about them externally to distinguish them from the ordinary frequenters of Pall-mall or St. James's-street, yet there was not one who, as our inspector and sergeant assured us, had not been convicted of "robberies from the person" over and over again—indeed, our sergeant pointed out a "gentleman" who had only just come out from six months' imprisonment on his (the sergeant's) own arrest, and against whom many convictions had been proved before. Our entry, I am sorry to say, seemed to throw a general damp upon the company. There was an utter silence, and then, at intervals of a few seconds, one after another went out to get a cigar or a glass of "old-and-bitter," all of which they must have found it extremely difficult to find, as none of them came back, and our sergeant laughed at the idea that his coming among them would be likely to keep the house quiet and scatter its customers for a day or two. The landlord, who had evidently arrived at the same conclusion, was not in so jocular a mood, and scowled at us fiercely as we passed out.

This was a first-class thieves' beer-shop, and it is quite needless to go through the dirty gradations of them. Let us look into a low-class beer-shop—that is to say, low-class in the neighbourhood, in its appearance, and its customers. The low beer-house for the worst class of thieves is generally in an ill-favoured "alum," ill-looking and worse-smelling, with a group of tawdry women choking up its narrow entrance, and half-naked children playing about barefooted on the slimy flagstones, hiding amid the dustheaps, from among which they only sally out when the older inhabitants of the court have come forth to look upon the phenomenon of a respectably dressed stranger venturing into their district. At the upper end of the court is a broad dim light, to which our party at once made their way and passed through a low bar into a small taproom. Quick as we were, however, we were not quite quick enough to prevent the large party there secreting the cards with which they were practising. An ill-looking bulldog, but by no means the most ill-looking of the company, came towards us as we entered, but was at once called off by its master, and then, as in the better class of thieves' house, we sat down in our corner amid a dead silence, broken only by a few muttered words of slang or an occasional spitting on the table to efface the chalk marks by which they had been practising some gambling game. When we had time to look around we found ourselves in a curious place and in curious society. The room was low, ill-smelling, and very full—full, too, of the lowest description of broken-down fighting-men, card and skittle sharps, and thimble-riggers. One is known over half the country fairs and racetracks in England as the very prince of successful swindlers. The others were all known rogues and rascals, who had been convicted as such over and over again. As with the swell-thieves' beer-house so with this infamous haunt, as soon as our party came in, its regular occupants instantly and silently departed, with the single difference that while the first-named class affected gentility in their departure and wished "Good night," the latter did not conceal their fear, but slunk away as much as they could unnoticed. Yet both classes were equally criminal, both were known as having lived by crime only, and as certain only to live by crime while they were at large. Yet to neither one class nor the other could the detectives say a single word, for there was no specific charge against them, and they went out as usual from their beer-shops to prey upon society at large, whether rich or poor.

LEAVING-SHOPS.

Any London magistrate will confirm me when I say that these places are the curses of the districts in which they exist, and in the east and south of London they literally abound. They are the first resort of all the young thieves, who leave the fruits of their petty larcenies there, and get their advance on them "and no questions asked." In most cases, however, the boys dispose of their booty outright and receive about a tenth part of its value, getting even a greater part of that in eggs, rashers of bacon, tea, or tobacco, for the leaving-shop-keepers are generally small chandlers and grocers as well. Thus, also, a boy may bring half his father's tools, or a girl may bring half her mother's clothes, and once in the "leaving-shop," all traces of them is lost for ever. They are the ruin, too, of half the errand-boys employed in shops, who have fair opportunities of pilfering and a ready secret market for their plunder close at hand. At least one-third of the house we examined was openly and almost confessedly filled with stolen goods. How much of what remained was stolen, I, of course, cannot say, but my sergeant assured me that very few were, as far as his experienced eye could judge, honestly come by. He further added that if he had power to get a cart and take away the suspected property, he would undertake, on risk of losing his place, to find all the rightful owners within a week. But he had no power, and if we, he said, came with a search-warrant the day after our visit, we should not find a single questionable article on the premises from top to bottom. The rapidity with which the "office"—i.e., the alarm—is given from "leaving-shop" to "leaving-shop" when the police are suspected to be coming down, was, to his experience, astonishing. Unless these "leaving-houses" are put under the absolute control of the police, it is hopeless trying to deal with the question of how to check our criminal classes. It must be remembered that these are not the resorts of habitual criminals, but they are what is much worse—the very nurseries and schools from which the class of habitual criminals is continually recruited.

LOW LODGING-HOUSES.

We came upon one which is a notorious resort for the most notorious thieves of the East-end. The price of a night's lodging here is only a penny less than that for which really comfortable beds can be got only a few hundred yards or so further on. But the class is quite different—as distinct as black and white—and before descending into the cellar in which the occupants cook and live, our detective assures us that we shall meet nothing but convicted thieves or their constant associates and companions. Thus instructed, our party go down, and we find ourselves among quite a different class of thieves to those whom we had previously met. They were of the sort of begging thieves, male and female, about as numerous a class of depredators as any that exist in London. There was no trace of the water-pirate, the swell-mobman, the card-sharper, or the burglar here. They were all what I may call well-

dressed mendicants—that is to say, well-dressed mendicants for the parts they had to play. Ostensibly they gained their living by begging. In reality they were, as the occasion offered, either prostitutes or thieves. They were all assembled in a low, cavernous-looking cellar under ground, seated round a huge fire cooking their food, talking and laughing. There were flower-girls, cigar-light girls, street tumbler, professional blind men, rongs of the lowest description, and ragged girls—children, I should have said, who lived infamous lives among the bargemen on the river side. One thing that struck me more than anything else was the utter absence of concealment among either the men or women as to what they were. Of course, neither men nor women confessed to robberies or petty thefts, but virtually the men made very little secret; nor even the little girls, almost children, shrunk from saying in Shakespeare's words, "how stinkingly dependent were their lives."

Court, Official, and Personal News.

Her Majesty held the first Drawing-room of the season at Buckingham Palace on Wednesday afternoon. The attendance was very numerous. The Queen wore a black moire antique dress, with a train trimmed with crape and jet, and a white tulle cap with a long veil, the cap ornamented with large diamonds, and surmounted by a coronet of diamonds. Her Majesty also wore a necklace and a brooch composed of amethysts and diamonds, the Riband and the Star of the Order of the Garter, the Orders of Victoria and Albert and Louise of Prussia, and the Coburg and Gotha Family Order.

Her Majesty, with Prince Leopold and Princesses Louise and Beatrice, returned to Windsor on Friday, after visiting the Duchesses of Cambridge and Argyll.

Prince Arthur held a levee, on the Queen's behalf, at St. James's Palace, on Friday.

The death of Duke Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, the father of Prince Christian, and cousin of the Queen, took place on Friday, at his castle in Silesia.

A telegram from Alexandria states that the Prince of Wales left Keneh, in Upper Egypt, on Friday morning. All the party were well.

Extensive preparations are being made to give his Royal Highness Prince Arthur a fitting reception when he arrives at Ely Lodge, County Fermanagh, next Thursday. His royal highness is expected to remain the guest of the Marchioness of Ely for a few months.

Sir John Lawrence, late Governor-General of India, will be raised to the peerage.

The Times announces that Lord Strathairn will succeed the late Lord Gough in the command of the Royal Horse Guards.

Mr. S. Pope has been appointed to the Recorder-ship of Bolton, in the place of Mr. J. A. Russell, Q.C., the new judge of the Manchester County Court.

Professor Lyon Playfair, M.P., has intimated his intention to resign the chair of chemistry in Edinburgh University.

Miss Baxter, of Belgavies, sister of Sir David Baxter, Bart., of Kilmarnock, in further fulfilment of her sister's wishes, is in course of founding another scholarship, in connection with the Theological Hall of the Scottish Congregational Churches. She has further appropriated 1,000*l.* to the London Missionary Society.

The Liverpool Financial Association have determined to wind up.

The Earl of Radnor, who has reached the great age of ninety, is getting very feeble. The venerable nobleman is at Colehill, his seat in Berkshire.

The Earl of Glasgow died on Wednesday night. The deceased nobleman, who was famous chiefly as the owner of one of the most celebrated stables of horses, was in his eighty-seventh year. His half-brother, the Hon. G. F. Boyle, succeeds to the title and to the estates in Scotland; the deceased's sister, widow of the late Lord Fitzclarence, is entitled to the English estates.

Mr. Farnall, C.B., is to be recalled from the country and reinstated as one of the metropolitan inspectors under the Poor-law Board.

Miscellaneous News.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, N.—During the past week 1,353 applications have been attended to, including those of 469 new patients.

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE FOR INFANTS, HORNSEY RISE.—A friend of the charity has presented 1,000*l.* in aid of its funds, and promises 500*l.* more if the sum of 5,000*l.* can be raised for its benefit during the present year. The committee will be happy to receive contributions in order to secure this large donation. The office is 55, Ledgate-hill.

LAUNCH AT DEPTFORD.—The last launch of a Queen's ship that will ever take place at Deptford came off on Saturday in presence of a number of spectators, including not a few of the old hands of the yard. The Druid, a screw steamer corvette of ten guns, was the vessel launched, and the ceremony was performed by her Royal Highness the Princess Louise, who was accompanied to the dockyard by Prince Arthur.

THE COBDEN CLUB.—The subject for the prize essay of the Cobden Club for the year 1869 is the following:—"Free Trade in its Relation to the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain." The essays are to be sent in to the honorary secretary, Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, M.P., Reform Club,

London, before the 1st of January, 1870, and are not to exceed in length fifty pages of the *Quarterly* or *North American Reviews*. The committee reserves to itself the privilege of publishing the successful essay.

A UNIVERSITY UNION.—A society has just been formed called the Union Society of London. Its object is to promote in the University of London some approach to that greater degree of communication among its students and undergraduates which exists at Oxford and Cambridge. The society, which is like the Oxford Union, for purposes of debate, will hold meetings on the third Wednesday of every month in the theatres of King's College and University College alternately.

THE NEW POLICE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE METROPOLIS.—The new district superintendents of the metropolitan police have begun the performance of their duties. Their salaries are fixed at 500*l.*, rising to 800*l.* per annum. Their chief duties will be to hear complaints against the constables, which have hitherto been adjudicated upon at Scotland-yard by the Commissioners, and to visit the stations in their districts. They will supply the missing links between the commissioners and superintendents, and hold a rank somewhat similar to that of majors in the army.

TRADES UNION COMMISSION.—The report of the Trades Union Commission was published on Monday. It is not unanimous in its suggestions, the majority of the Commissioners recommending many alterations in the combination laws, and the establishment of Courts of Conciliation and Arbitration; a second report, signed by Lord Lichfield, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Harrison, recommends the total abolition of the combination laws; whilst a third contains further recommendations for the protection of the funds of trades unions. The report of the majority embodies the principles advocated by Sir Wm. Erle.

A CRIMINAL'S CONFESSION.—A man sentenced at Exeter on Wednesday to penal servitude for seven years, for arson, made the following extraordinary declaration on being called on to receive judgment: "All I have to say is, I am possessed of the devil, and that is the cause of my committing the crime for which I stand here. I knew I should have to do it three years before it happened. I know also that I have got to commit a murder, and I call on every person present to witness, when at a future day I am brought up for murder, that I gave all the warning that I could. I have only done this now to put off committing murder for a while."

THE EMIGRATION QUESTION.—A numerous attended meeting, under the auspices of the National Emigration Aid Society, was held on Saturday evening at the Agricultural Hall, to urge upon the Government the importance of assisting emigration to the colonies. Colonel Torrens, M.P. for Cambridge, presided. Resolutions were passed, pointing out that an instant and extreme remedy was required in order to check the increasing rate of pauperism, that the Government only could effectually afford such a remedy by the means indicated, and urging the working classes to organise committees to diffuse information upon the subject.

DISSOLUTION OF THE REFORM LEAGUE.—On the ground that the political crisis which called the Reform League into life and operation no longer exist, Mr. Beales has resigned the post of president of that body. The learned gentleman announced this determination at a meeting of the Council on Friday night, and a resolution was unanimously passed recognising the value of his services, and expressive of regret at his decision. Mr. Howell has at the same time resigned his office as secretary of the League. A committee of vigilance was appointed to watch the course of events. The League had been in existence nearly four years, having been established in May, 1865.

EARTHQUAKES IN EAST LANCASHIRE.—Reports from various parts of East Lancashire and the West Yorkshire borders concur in describing an earthquake which occurred a few minutes after six o'clock on Monday evening. The vibration was violent at Accrington, Haslingden, Rosegrove, and Waterfoot, lasting seven or eight seconds, and it was more or less perceptible at Blackburn, Bury, Middleton, Todmorden, and Sowerby Bridge. A momentary tremor was experienced in the centre of Manchester and in some of the suburbs, Pendleton and Cheetwood for instance. The direction of the earthquake appeared to be from east to west. Accounts differ by a few minutes as to time, but we hear of none earlier than six o'clock, or later than a quarter past. At some of the towns above mentioned people rushed out of their houses in alarm, asking one another what had happened. A chimney is said to be broken down at Newchurch, and a crack was left in the wall of the Haslingden railway station.

THE RELEASED FENIAN PRISONERS.—The names of the Fenian prisoners who have been released by the Government are given in a Parliamentary return. The total number is forty-nine, fifteen of whom are confined in the United Kingdom, and thirty-four in Australia. Among them are three who were originally sentenced to death, but whose sentence was afterwards commuted to penal servitude for life:—James O'Brien, alias Walsh; Thomas Cullinane, alias Bowlen; and David Joyce. The list also includes John Warren, sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude; C. J. Kickham, to fourteen years'; Augustine E. Costelloe, to twelve years'. The majority of the convicts, however, are those sentenced to terms of five and seven years' penal servitude. Cardinal Cullen has refused to sanction, either directly or indirectly, the proposal for a collection on St. Patrick's Day at the doors of the Dublin chapels in aid of the released Fenians. He characterises the movement as a mere stratagem to obtain from the country a mark of approbation of Fenianism.

Literature.

PRIMEVAL MAN.*

"Wo to the man who attempts to say all on a 'subject that can be said,'" wrote witty Voltaire; and the tendency to come under this woe is certainly great in dealing with such subjects as the Duke of Argyll delights in. But his Grace has a wonderful faculty of drawing a cordon round the ideas which are strictly essential to his argument, and surrounding them, as apiaries sometimes do their bees, with transparent walls, so that while the light of heaven is more powerfully reflected in upon them in varying colour, we can see every detail of their working—see them in all their relations. Hence it is that the Duke at first gives the idea of being clear through paucity of ideas, of being a correct rather than a full writer, a systematiser and logician rather than a thinker. But further study suffices to show that the subject has been approached by him in its most vital relations, that he has viewed it on many sides; so that his seeming cold, colourless logic slowly opens up into far-stretching cell-like applications, at the end of some of which we are suddenly surprised at coming into a finer atmosphere and getting a near and fair view of the mystic borderland of poetry. The Duke of Argyll has only one living superior in his power of poetising science; and he has certainly some moral advantages to put in the balance against the well-knit intellectual fibre and fine pictorial fancy of Tyndall.

Perhaps no man in our day has done better service at once to religion and to science than the Duke has done in rescuing Law and kindred terms from the confusion in which a partially-elaborated science had landed them. "The Reign of Law" was a triumphant vindication of the intelligent Will, the Ideal Personality, if we may so speak, the recognition of which alone suffices to relate the scattered phenomena of life on a true and stable basis. The materialists in the very process of reasoning on the invariable successions of phenomena, on continuity, on correlation and vital force, were themselves constantly compelled to use terms which they had already of set purpose emptied of their original significance—such terms as Purpose, Contrivance, and Will. The Duke of Argyll, by a process of the most rigorous reasoning, to which the vast domain of natural science supplied ready and effective illustrations, re-established the real and ethical bearing of these words as the necessary terms and correlatives in a true theory of nature and of man. For, proceeding on the idea that the very instinct and necessity of classification in man was awakened first of all by manifestations of purpose, order, and contrivance in the physical universe, which his deepest consciousness of freedom and of creative, contriving energy sprang forth spontaneously to meet, the Duke reasserted for natural science a truly ethical and, in fact, ideal basis, which, while it dignified scientific research, kept the sphere of religion perfectly open and free. The presence of purpose, power, contrivance, nice adjustment of means to ends, was proved to be inexplicable, unless on the supposition of a spiritual personal Being working through these laws, or fixed successions of phenomena, towards the realisation of a definite mental result.

"Primeval Man" is an application of the same reasoning to the question of the origin and unity of mankind. Its great end is to show that it is impossible to pursue any investigation of man's history from the purely physical side. You cannot contemplate the human body—feet, arms, and skull, all so different from that of any other creature—apart from some consideration of mental and spiritual power and capability. The Duke's thesis is that varieties of function and anatomical structure are not arbitrary or accidental, but are so correlated with individual character, instinct, tendency, that in fixing habits and presenting the lines on which all classification is based, they most unmistakably prove a method in order to the fulfilment of a purpose. The volume is an unfolding of an argument from this starting-point, and is perhaps the most clear, graceful, pointed, and precise piece of ethical reasoning published for a quarter of a century. Two opposing theories of man's origin and civilisation meet him in the outset. Archbishop Whately holds that "men in the lowest degree, or even anything approaching to the lowest degree of barbarism in which they can possibly subsist at all—never did and never can, unaided, raise themselves into a higher position"; whilst Sir John Lubbock, in refuting Whately, reaches the conclusion that the "primitive con-

dition of mankind was one of utter barbarism"; that from this condition certain races have independently raised themselves; and, of course, that instead of existing savages being the degenerate descendants of ancestors who were more advanced, all races now civilised are the children of men who were once in the same low condition. Rejecting, as untenable, some elements in the theory of Whately, the Duke has yet more forcible objections to Sir John Lubbock's theory, and more especially to some of its implications—especially this, "that the 'utter barbarism' of the first man was itself an advance on the condition of some pre-decessor," which is in fact only another form of the development theory, or the theory of "natural selection." Of course the whole aim of this school is to render more and more pale the lines of distinction between physical and mental attributes, and to reduce man to a mere specimen of natural history—a link in the chain of natural and necessary development.

It is quite beyond our limits to give even an epitome of the Duke's argument, which we are the less sorry for, as the volume itself is at once very cheap and very short, and we wish to send our readers direct to it rather than to gratify their curiosity by an easy but unsatisfactory substitute. But we may remark that his reasoning seems to us absolutely conclusive as against the upholders of the "natural selection" theory. If allowance is made at all for the variety of function, in reference to mental aim and purpose, then man stands on quite a different platform from all the rest of the brute creation; and the idea of one species giving birth to another, so different in all its characteristics as man is from the highest monkey, is unprecedented, and takes far more for granted than any observed analogy will for a moment support. This is admitted by Lewes, by Owen, and by Huxley likewise.

The case is put powerfully in the following passage:—

"When anatomists object to erect a separate 'order' for man on the plea that it was an attempt to recognise two different orders of ideas—namely, ideas of anatomical structure, and ideas of mental power—they are simply refusing to place that value on anatomical differences which Nature puts on them. They find no similar difficulty as regards other animals in co-ordinating anatomical structure with mental powers and instincts. The canine teeth of the Carnivora stand in close and consistent relation with their dispositions. The prehensile character of the feet or tail in monkeys is a true and adequate expression of their arboreal habits, and the small and simple brains of the Marsupials (kangaroos, &c.) are strictly correlated with their low intelligence. We may not, and we do not, understand how these phenomena of matter and of mind are thus dependent on each other, but, as a fact, we see that this dependence is universal, and the distinctions which we found on anatomical structure have their value corroborated and confirmed by close and inseparable correspondences of instinct and intelligence. Man is no exception whatever to this universal law, and any system of classification which places a value on his anatomical peculiarities, separating by an impassable gulf between his body and his mind, is a system altogether inconsistent with philosophy. The value set upon any given anatomical peculiarity, or group of peculiarities, in a sound system of classification, ought evidently to correspond as nearly as possible with the value assigned to these peculiarities in the system of Nature."—P. 60.

While pressed by the necessities of the facts of science to push the antiquity of man far beyond that usually assigned to the Biblical record, the Duke yet succeeds in harmonising his ideas with its validity as a revelation, and writes thus with wise and reverent caution:

"Certain it is, that whatever new views may now be taken of the origin and authorship of the first chapter of Genesis, it stands alone among the traditions of mankind in the wonderful simplicity and grandeur of its words. Specially remarkable—miraculous it really seems to be—is that character of reserve which leaves open to reason all that reason may be able to attain. The meaning of these words seems almost to be a meaning ahead of science—not because it anticipates the results of science, but because it is independent of them, and runs, as it were, round the outer margin of all possible discovery."—P. 35.

But certainly the Duke's strongest point, where we are wholly at one with him, is the argument against Sir John Lubbock's dictum of primeval barbarism based on the present degraded condition of many races. The fact of knowledge having been lost proves nothing to Sir John's purpose. Civilisation itself, in its blossoming periods, has shown the capability of humanity to lapse from knowledge. The wave, in its recoil, draws into the depths of the ocean something in return for its rich deposit. Early practical methods of doing things in which our fathers excelled have been forgotten by us, and machinery has fanned away the odour of many a happy gift, now irrecoverably lost. Emerson's axiom that "All life is a wave," has its bearing here, and more especially when we connect it with a great law of progress, which the Duke illustrates well, and which Hegel was the first to exhibit luminously, giving rise to his bold but truthful generalisation that "high civilised development is only possible in tem-

perate zones." This law seems to be, that in the progress and development of man round favourable centres swarms are periodically thrown off or pressed out; and that these, forced into less favourable conditions, become stagnant and barbarous, like pools thrown off beyond the usual tide border at high-water. The wave of life which, in its breaking over the old home, left a rich deposit, lifted and carried them away into regions and latitudes where physical conditions made mental life impossible. Sir John Lubbock's argument, in proving too much, thus proves nothing.

We cannot forbear, however, pointing out what seem to us slight flaws in the Duke's argument. At p. 86 we find the unprotected condition of the human body, slowness of foot and other things, set down as "features which stand in strict and harmonious relation to the mental powers of man"—a statement which might be declared to cut both ways, inasmuch as this admission implies at least a want of purpose within a purpose, since the first end of life must be to preserve itself. And this is surely more especially noticeable when, on p. 20, we have the qualified counter-admission that "man must have had human proportions of mind before he could afford to lose bestial proportions of body"; and again at p. 134, the assertion is made—"It is true that man has not instincts of the same kind as the animals have." But this is no proof whatever that he has not, and had not originally instincts which stand in strict correlation with the peculiarities of his higher physical organisation.

Again, when, at p. 148, the Duke asserts that "The man who first lifted a stone and threw it, practised an art which not one of the lower animals is capable of practising," does he not make too much of a separate point, seeing that whole families of monkeys will throw down stones and other missiles on their enemies; and moreover do it with a certain concertedness, as if to gain effect? Besides, the Duke is himself compelled to qualify the statement by reference to the elephant and other animals, in a manner which shows it had better been unadvanced in the form in which we have it here.

The Duke makes some capital incidental points arising out of his argument; as, for instance, when he deals with the warnings and interdicts put upon research in the "interests of the positive philosophy":—

"'Whatever,' says Mr. Lewes, 'is inaccessible to reason should be strictly interdicted to research.' Here we have the true ring of the old sacerdotal interdicts. Who is to define beforehand what is, and what is not, 'inaccessible to reason'? Are we to take such a definition on trust from the priests of this new philosophy? They tell us that all proofs of mind in the order of the universe, all evidences of purpose, all conceptions of plan or of design, in the history of creation, are the mere product of special 'infirmities' of the human intellect. In opposition to these attempts—come from what quarter they may—to limit arbitrarily the boundaries of knowledge, let us maintain the principle that we never can certainly know what is 'inaccessible to reason,' until the way of access has been tried. In the highest interests of truth, we must resist any and every interdict against research. The strong presumption is that every philosophy which assumes to issue such an interdict must have a reason to fear inquiry."—P. 23.

The Duke's book is worthy of a place in every library, as skilfully popularising science, and yet sacrificing nothing either of its dignity or of its usefulness.

MR. MALAN versus DEAN ALFORD.*

Mr. Malan is a staunch advocate of accuracy. He ought therefore to choose his own terms carefully and to use them with scholarly precision. The title of a book is, as a rule, the most carefully and anxiously-considered sentence it contains. Yet the title lettered on the back of his book ("A Plea for the English Bible") is a mere piece of catch-penny claptrap. Nor does the alternative title printed on the first page at all accurately express the design and contents of this small volume. A bitter attack on the first four chapters in Dean Alford's "Greek Testament," and some desultory criticisms of sundry phrases in his "New Testament for English Readers"—and this is a fair description of Mr. Malan's book—has no claim to be called either "A Plea for the English Bible" or "A Plea for the Received Greek Text and for the Authorised Version." And, indeed, the volume to which these misleading titles are attached is conceived in a spirit so froward and unchristian as to be in itself unworthy of notice. If we notice it, it is simply that we may indicate and condemn its spirit and tone.

Whatever defects it may have, no candid and devout student of Scripture will be forward to deny that Dr. Alford's edition of the Greek

* *A Plea for the Received Greek Text and for the Authorised Version of the New Testament.* By the Rev. S. C. MALAN. London: Hatchards.

* *Primeval Man: an Examination of some Recent Speculations.* By the Duke of ARGYLL. London: Strahan and Co.

Testament is a monument of patient labour and investigation. No doubt it owes much to the learned toils of great German scholars, such as Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf—every modern text of the Greek Testament must owe much to them if it is to be worth the paper on which it is printed; but, nevertheless, it is marked throughout by signs of independent labour and thought. No doubt, too, it has its weak places, and is very open to improvement, as probably Dean Alford knows better than most of us; nevertheless, it would be hard to find an English edition of the Greek Scriptures, on the same scale, which the ordinary student would find more serviceable. Of the Dean's English renderings we cannot speak with any enthusiasm. As a rule they convey the sense of the original more accurately than the Authorised Version; but, in our judgment, he is not blessed with the musical ear and that fine tact of language which distinguished many of the earlier translators. Tyndale and Coverdale will always hold their own against him, and that right easily.

But when all defects are admitted, we have in his Greek and English Testaments the results of many years' devout toil in a field to which lamentably few English scholars and divines betake themselves. With more erudition than many of his critics, Dean Alford combines a singular impartiality, candour, and charity to those from whom he differs. A devout Christian man, seeking not only to acquire all the learning an expositor should have, but also to rid himself of the prejudices which so often bias an expositor and lead him to abuse his learning for sectarian rules—such we conceive the Dean to be, our conception being based simply on long familiarity with his works.

But if our impression of him be anywhere near the mark, what is the attitude which Christian men and scholars should assume to him and to the gifts he offers them? Surely our first duty is to accept gratefully whatever help he has been commissioned and enabled to bring us. Tyndale, to whom our Authorised Version owes more than to any other man, indicates the very spirit which should animate all who labour in this sacred task of editing or translating the Scriptures. In presenting his Testament to English readers, he says:—"I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace; exhorting instantly and beseeching those who are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labour and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them, but for to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation which is the Body of Christ." Coverdale, to whom also our Authorised Version owes much, acted on this hint; though not "better seen in the tongues" than Tyndale, he was often able to hit on a happier English word or phrase, and gave the Church the benefit of his gift. Why should we not all act on the hint? If Dr. Alford or Dr. Tregelles can help us to a more accurate Greek text, Tyndale implies that it is their duty to do so; why should Mr. Malan regard any alteration as in itself an evil to be deplored? If we, any of us, can suggest a happier rendering of this phrase or that, why should we not put to our hands to amend it? Nay, if we must differ from any predecessor in the field on essential points, if we think his whole method wrong, or many of his leading conclusions inaccurate and misleading, it should surely be possible for us to expose his errors and condemn his methods without any sin against charity, and with a very profound and sincere regret that any brother, who has attempted to "bestow his gifts unto the honouring of God and Christ, and the edifying of the congregation," should have wasted his years and lost his labour.

It is because, instead of showing himself a fellow-labourer, Mr. Malan bears himself merely as an antagonist; because in his attack upon Dean Alford he sins against all charity, that we have sorrowfully to pronounce his book bitter, malicious, unchristian. He is himself a minister of the very Church which the Dean serves and adorns. In his earlier strictures he displays large and various, if somewhat undisciplined, reading. And therefore, had he been willing, he might, and was bound to, have rendered good service to us all by pointing out the blemishes which deface the work on which he comments. Nay, he stands forth as the champion of orthodoxy against the insidious en-

croachments of rationalism; and of whom may we expect the very temper of the Divine Evangel if not of those who are, or assume to be, its knights? Yet from the very first, he breathes a carping and self-sufficient spirit, the temper of a pedant and a sophist rather than that of a Christian scholar and gentleman.

In his brief Introduction, for instance, he speaks of Christians who derive their descent "from brutes," and deem human language a mere "development of the two mighty roots 'BAU-WAU'"; insinuating by the mere juxtaposition of phrases, though he does not venture to say, that Dean Alford may be of these. He hints that some one may have taken it into his head to "construct" a text because the Greek text being used by comparatively few, "he may 'try his hand at it with a certain degree of impunity,' or because he 'finds it easier than to study and explain the one already existing.'" He speaks of "eager revisers" who would fain "introduce a new Bible of their own, that by so doing they might cut asunder one of the few remaining links of fellowship between men of the same nation." He declares that we have no men among us "able to revise the English Bible without making mere patchwork of it." He mentions Hyde, Pococke, Lowth, Selden, Lardner, Warburton, Lightfoot, &c., in a way which would lead unlearned readers to suppose that these great scholars had contributed to our Authorised Version, or at least that none of them had ever attempted to amend its readings. "Revisers," moreover, he informs us "ought to 'know grammar,' and not to indulge 'in frothy writing,'" as Dean Alford does, nor to be of those who "think wisdom and knowledge came 'with them into the world.'" All these poor quips, hints, insinuations are contained in seven small pages of the Introduction, which is written throughout in the vulgar gibing spirit they display. And these insinuations of ignorance, presumption, rationalism, sinister motive, these covert appeals to the prejudices and the baser feelings of good men, are the salutation with which a Christian minister greets the work of "a brother in the Lord"! In the name of common honesty and Christian charity, let us have done with these "deeds of darkness." We put it to Mr. Malan himself whether any cause must not suffer in the estimation of all who love truth and kindness when advocated in a spirit so alien to the charity which thinketh no evil but hopeth all things.

Certainly there is nothing in the contents of the book to justify, or even excuse, the tone taken in the introductory pages. In his first ninety-eight pages, Mr. Malan critically examines Dr. Alford's text of St. Matthew's Gospel, chapters I to IV. His criticisms display more erudition than acumen. He is familiar with the Greek Fathers, and with many of the ancient Versions. He has also acquainted himself with, at least the results of, the more recondite studies of ancient Syriac, Arabic, and Persian literatures. Here and there he hits a blot which no doubt Dean Alford will be glad to remove. But he lacks the true critical spirit. His strictures are marked throughout by two defects far graver than any we have discovered in the works he attacks. The first is, that he seems to have absolutely no sense of the relative values of the Codices and Versions he cites. The second is, that he trusts to his own conjectures of what the inspired authors must have written in a way, if not to a degree, as perilous as that of the most rationalistic commentators. This is not the place in which to enter into minute proofs of these assertions. We can only indicate in general terms where they are to be found.

About the first rule which scholars lay down for themselves in constructing a Greek text is to ascertain the age, the school or class of the MSS. they have in hand, and to be guided in their estimate of the value—hence, also, in their selection of readings—by their decision on these points. Mr. Malan, however, constantly gives the preference to readings taken from MSS. of a later date or lesser value. Sometimes he even pits the Versions and the Fathers against original MSS. of the most binding authority, or the Septuagint translation of a passage in the Old Testament against the New Testament quotation of that passage in an ancient Greek codex. So, too, he seems to think that if the received text is better Greek than that of the ancient codices, this better Greek is a sufficient argument in its favour; although there is hardly a scholar but himself who does not lay it down as a rule that the more difficult the Greek of a passage, the more likely is it to be original, since copyists would have many reasons for seeking to make a passage more simple and grammatical, none, at least in ordinary cases, for making it more difficult and involved. On page 105, indeed, he expressly avows, "Nothing will make me believe that the worse the Greek the nearer it is to being in-

"spired"—a remark not without good sense in some aspects of it, but, as scholars will admit, terribly apt to mislead those who trust in it, if, at least, they have to decide on the comparative value of various readings.

From page 99 to the close, Mr. Malan discusses Dean Alford's English renderings of the Greek. Remembering the bitter wholesale condemnation of Dean Alford's works in the earlier parts of the volume, it is both curious and absurd to find how often this terrible critic has to confess that the Dean who "ought to 'know grammar'" though he does not, has after all hit on renderings more accurate and happy than those of the Authorised Version. In this section of the volume, we constantly find appended to the Dean's proposed translations, "Right," or "A better rendering this," or "This also is preferable, though the change is not 'necessary'—it being not at all necessary that our English Version should be as faithful a rendering of the Greek as it can be made! Still oftener we find more grudging and disingenuous phrases such as these—"There is not much difference between the two (the Authorised Version and the Dean's proposed emendation), and therefore the old phrase may just as well be retained"; or, "If the phrase given in one Gospel is not to be found in the Greek of that Gospel, it is to be found in that of another, and may therefore be wisely retained 'in both'; or, an admitted emendation is pronounced to be of 'not the slightest consequence'; or, a faulty rendering in the Authorised Version is 'well enough understood'; or, because a phrase inaccurately inserted 'does no harm, we need not reject it.'" Sometimes changes for the better are rejected for no sounder reason than that to admit them would "put" people "about" and "unsettle" them. In fine, though even in this section there are some critical hints which will repay investigation, it is as a whole, mere special pleading of a very disingenuous kind.

We have noticed this small book—very small in every sense of the word—at greater length than it deserves or we had intended. But as we felt bound to condemn it, we felt bound also to give our readers the grounds on which our condemnation is based.

RECENT MINOR POETRY.*

Mrs. Prideaux, in calling "The Nine Days' Queen" a "Dramatic Poem," rather than a drama, has disarmed much criticism. If the volume had claimed to be "a tragedy," we should have had to notice the want of "definition" in its characters, and the poverty of its action. Mrs. Prideaux does not make either the *dramatis personæ* or the incidents live before us, and, by their own vigorous presentation, lay hold of the imagination and the feeling. But as a "dramatic poem"—the story of Lady Jane Grey told by Mrs. Prideaux dramatically—this book is well worthy of commendation. Those who know the story, will find it here treated sweetly and touchingly; we do not think, however, that the persons of the drama reveal themselves. Nor have we that sense of the inevitable—that feeling that the persons being such as they are, and their associations and circumstances such as they are, the development of the tragedy could not have been other than it is, which it is always the mark of dramatic genius to produce.

The story of Lady Jane Grey is one of the most tragic in English History; as it is told, even in schoolbooks, we see that conflict of a soul with destiny which is the formal motive of the Greek drama, and the less patent but not less real interest of modern tragedy. Mrs. Prideaux has given us a beautiful picture of Lady Jane Grey; indeed, she is everything, there is a touch of life in Queen Mary, the proud Tudor spirit; a little interest also attaches occasionally to Lord Guildford Dudley; the other characters are little more than lay-figures around the Lady Jane. Mrs. Prideaux has shewn the delicate feeling of a true artist in bringing into prominence the love of Lady Jane for Dudley; it is not only itself sweetly depicted in its growth and influence upon her; but in her early doubt of Dudley and her final surrender of herself to a woman's necessity of love, and a wife's necessity of devotion to her husband, we have a suggestion of the whole character and destiny of the sweet young victim. The motive of the whole tragedy,—the noble girl pressed on

* *The Nine Days' Queen.* A Dramatic Poem. By Mrs. FREDERICK PRIDEAUX, Author of "Claudia." (London: Bell and Daldy.)

Iona, and other Sonnets, &c. By WADE ROBINSON. (Dublin: Moffatt and Co.)

Phantasmagoria, and other Poems. By LEWIS CARROLL. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

Beatrice, and other Poems. By the Hon. RODEN NOEL. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

by an adverse destiny whose power was in its appeal to her noblest sensibilities—is thus developed in the most womanly sphere of a woman's life; the courtship and marriage of the Lady Jane are presented to us as typical of her character and prophetic of her fate.

The idea of the poem is thus expressed in the language of Lady Jane Grey herself, when in an hour of depression, she wonders about, rather than doubts, the Divine justice that has appointed such a lot for her.

"Surely my fault,
That wears so childlike-innocent a face,
Must be a fiend within. I must have nursed
A wicked changeling. Knowing of a truth
That I was strong and stubborn in my thoughts,
Unapt to bend my fancies to the will
Of those above me,—I have taught myself
To be in action pliant as a reed
To every wind of just authority.
And now the virtue that I doted on,
For which I hugged myself before high Heaven,
Saying, 'I thank Thee I am not as others,
Headstrong and disobedient,' is transformed
Into a hideous vice."

The conversation that follows is modern in its theological terminology, but the thought cannot be called peculiar to any Christian age. We gladly add it for its profound truth; many will thank Mrs. Prideaux for this brief pointed Christian answer to their doubts.

"Master Aylmer: Think you that those
On whom the tower in old Siloam fell
Were sinners above all the neighbouring folk?
Lady Jane: This is no accident by stocks and stones.
Dumb servants of Nature, but the hand
Of God Himself that smites me to the dust.
The law is but His hand.
Master Aylmer: And stocks and stones,
Are they not His likewise? and both, and all,
Whether they smite or spare, perform His will.
Lady Jane: Then all is lost; for I have lost my God.
A God whose will it is to smite the just
Is not my God.
Master Aylmer: Had He not smitten once
The One most just, His own Incarnate Son,
Where should we be?
Lady Jane: But 'twas for others' sakes
He smote Him—sinless.
Master Aylmer: Madam, you have said it.
And who shall limit such a thought as that?
It scoops the very depths of Hades, climbs
The very heights of Heaven, and gathers all
That we call life into one sacrifice
Of each for all, of all for each in turn."

We have special pleasure in calling attention to Mr. Wade Robinson's "Sonnets and other Verses"; for we noticed not altogether favourably the "Lays of a Heart," an early volume by the same author. We have no hesitation in confessing that the poetic faculty and taste of this later volume have taken us by surprise. There were occasional gleams of true fancy in the former verses, but they were mingled with sentimentalism, and suffered from the want of discipline and self-control. Mr. Robinson has done wisely in setting himself to write sonnets. He has come under the influence of masters of English verse—we catch signs of Shakespeare's influence in many of his lines—and the necessity of expressing one thought within the definite limits prescribed by the sonnet-form, has compelled to a simpler and a truer poetry. His imagination has become more fruitful by his pruning away its wild overgrowths. We quote one sonnet which, we believe, will make our readers wish for more. It is one of a half-a-dozen entitled "Cain," all of which express the feeling of misery in a man who is doomed to live, when he had rather die, for his crime.

"Abel is dead, and being dead is blest,
Last in the world, and to his slumber first;
I am alive, and being alive am cursed
Because my murderous hand rocked him to rest.
Why am I hunted thus for blessing done?
Were I to rouse him from his sleep again,
Then would I earn indeed a life of pain,
And the slow torment of the cruel sun.
My brother, bless me as I have blest thee,
Forgive me, stretch thy pale hand from the tomb,
And draw me toward thee in the tender gloom—
Take—take my life, and so my misery.
Thou dost not hear me, O thy rest is deep,
Not even thy brother's cry can pierce thy golden sleep."

There pervades Mr. Robinson's poems a tone of pensive beauty, not, however, degenerating into feebleness; in the sonnets there is frequently a sudden turn of thought, the pathos of which is increased by a slight approach to an unaffected quaintness. Mr. Robinson can express a common sentiment without being common-place; as the following poem shows:—

"THE RAIN."

"I heard the step of the Rain
At dead of night on the street,
And a sound of tears and pain
Was the sound of his liquid feet.
I heard his sorrowful showers
In the wood behind the town,
And the gasp of the struggling flowers
As he tried to beat them down."

But when I awoke at morn
The dawn was in the skies,
And an echoing splendour was born
In the light of tearful eyes.

That day was the first of May,
And a voice was down the earth,
A hum of dance and play,
And a ring of laughter and mirth.

The Rain was past and gone,
But he hung a viewless sprite
In the heaven of clouds that shone
With amber and crimson light.

And he saw the work he had wrought
To the music of sobs and tears,
When the leaves and blossoms fought
And fainted and died in fears.

But now the scented breeze,
And the birds with dewy lays,
And the shimmering flowers and trees
Were singing together his praise.

O! ever since that strain
Comes sweetly to unite,
With the heavy plash of Rain
Which I hear at dead of night.

For Winter is nurse to May,
And Doubt is the builder of Faith,
And Night is the fountain of Day,
And Life is the daughter of Death."

Mr. Robinson is not always happy in his epithets, not uniformly elevated in his imagery; but he evinces so true a poetic faculty, and so much power of growth, that we shall look with confidence and pleasure for his next volume of poems.

The beautifully got-up volume, entitled "Phantasmagoria," is in its literary contents very unequal. There is a good deal of real humour in the first part; there are fancy and feeling in the second part, but a miserable affectation goes far to spoil all. Mr. Carroll is not content to be humorous, he puts on grin and gesture. He is not content simply to utter a tender or pathetic fancy in natural verse; he strains and attitudinises. Mr. Carroll would find ample material for his caricaturing propensity in his own serious verse. And yet we cannot throw the book away; with all its affectations, there is real fun in it, and true poetry too, and we have enjoyed many of its pages. There is a merry wilfulness in these verses on the Sea.

"There are certain things—as a spider, a ghost,
The income-tax, gout, an umbrella for three—
That I hate; but the thing that I hate the most
Is a thing they call the Sea.

Pour some salt water over the floor—
Ugly I'm sure you'll allow it to be:
Suppose it extend a mile or more,
That's very like the Sea.

Beat a dog till he howls outright—
Cruel, but all very well for a spree:
Suppose that he did so day and night,
That would be like the Sea.

I had a vision of nursery-maids;
Tens of thousands passed by me—
All leading children with wooden spades,
And this was by the Sea.

Who invented those spades of wood?
Who was it cut them out of the tree?
None, I think, but an idiot could—
Or one that loved the Sea.

It is pleasant and dreamy, no doubt, to float
With 'thoughts as boundless, and souls as free'!
But suppose you are very unwell in the boat,
How do you like the Sea?

Once I met a friend in the street,
With wife, and nurse, and children three—
Never again such a sight may I meet
As that party from the Sea!

Their looks were sullen, their steps were slow,
Convicted felons they seemed to be:
'Are you going to prison, dear friend?' 'Oh no!
We're returning—from the Sea!'"

Mr. Noel's poems appear like those written by young men at college. "*Hæc olim meminisse juvabit*." There is, however, nothing in them to indicate that the author will secure the reputation of a poet. The verses we append are not the best in the volume nor the worst, but they are among the most easily quoted:—

"Upon her stone at dead of night
Flashed the wild rain in lightnings white,
She unaware of sound or sight.

The shadowing minster clanged on high,
Chariots of loud life hurried by,
Disturbing ne'er the sleeper nigh.

Her little girl had grief to smother
E'er since the father took another
In place of her own tender mother.

By moonlight to the grave she crept,
Tears on her mother's name she wept,
... Who the same sleep unheeding slept."

"THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT."

The "Gladstone Government" is certainly a tempting subject for a book, and the title, if nothing else, may probably secure a certain amount of popularity for the volume of

* *The Gladstone Government, a Series of Cabinet Pictures.* By A. TEMPLAR. (Hurst and Blackett.)

sketches which has just been published by "A Templar." When we get beyond the title-page, however, we find little to commend. In matter and in manner the book is alike unattractive. In such a work we look for something more than a mere *resumé* of facts, familiar to every intelligent man, and which, in the case of the more eminent members of the Ministry, have been reproduced again and again within the last few weeks. We expect personal reminiscences, characteristic anecdotes, some glimpses of the interior of political life, and not a mere expansion, by means of extremely flaccid and feeble comment, of the materials to be found in such a book as "Men of the Time;" for there is really little more than this in the volume before us. Thus, though ninety pages of the portly octavo before us are devoted to the Prime Minister, we doubt whether any man of ordinary reading will learn a new fact relative to the Premier's course. He will get the writer's ideas, often very crude and unsatisfactory, on various points, but he will receive no help to the formation of an independent judgment of his own. We search in vain for evidences of any special qualifications possessed by the "Templar" for the task he has undertaken. He does not seem to have any personal knowledge of the men whose photographs he gives us, nor do we think that he has any great sympathy with the Liberal party whom they represent. He is not a Tory, perhaps, but he has evidently got a deal of that foolish sentiment about the late Premier, his marvellous talent and sublime audacity, which is so prevalent in certain circles, and which, from its tendency to honour success more than honesty, and to regard a cynical contempt of political professions and principles as a proof of genius, we view as one of the worst features of the political life of the times. Our author has certainly much of this admiration of Mr. Disraeli, and is thus lacking in that sympathetic feeling, essential to the success of his work. He is, however, no vulgar railer, does homage to the intellectual power of the men from whose principles he differs, and has, we believe, tried to write impartially, though unfortunately, not with very signal success.

Before discussing the matter of the book, we feel bound to speak of its style, which is certainly, to quote from our author, "what the Americans emphatically express in one word"—"cautionary." Apart from general feebleness—a feebleness greatly increased by peculiarities which are doubtless the result of the author's legal training, such for example, as the continual introduction of little explanations, often quite superfluous, with the word "namely"—there is an unskilfulness in the construction of sentences, a tendency to get into a labyrinth of subsidiary sentences, and sometimes a contempt of grammar of the most surprising kind. The expression "three hundred and eighty odd Gladstonians" is a sample of a slovenliness of expression which is not uncommon in the book, but though it might suggest to a foreigner not acquainted with a colloquialism which would only be pardonable in a newspaper paragraph, that the Liberal party were a set of eccentrics, it is a venial fault compared with others into which the author is continually falling. There is hardly a page from which we could not select sentences which even a lenient judge would condemn. Take the following as an illustration—"Fifteen years later on, namely, in the spring of 1860, it became his privilege through one of his most celebrated Budgets as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to round the circle of these great changes which he had in a less conspicuous capacity, so very signally, nevertheless helped, as already seen, to inaugurate, by sweeping away then, for once and for all, nearly every individual protective impost yet remaining, in 1860, to be abolished." An equally remarkable example of the singularly involved character of our author's style is this attempt to tell the story of Mr. Bright's introduction into public life—"Bereaved, very shortly after his first marriage, by the death of his young wife in 1841, Mr. Bright had been sought out, in the first bitterness of his grief as a widower, by his then acquaintance during some half-a-dozen years—afterwards (until death separated them also), during some four-and-twenty years his intimate friend and illustrious associate—the late Mr. Cobden—who, after condoling with him under his affliction, challenged him, almost as though it were an anodyne to his sorrow, to join him heart and soul in doing battle with the Corn Laws, never resting until such time as they should have secured their final abolition." Here is a still more extraordinary sentence, relative to the task imposed upon a strong Government by the crime, ignorance, and pauperism at present so rife, a sentence in which the natural difficulties are increased by the remarkable mode of punctuation—"Increasing and multiplying in

"the very midst of us, as these dread evils and impositions upon the body politic have done, during so many years past, in absolute defiance of all our intermittent efforts, the while, at their removal or repression, they recall to remembrance, now, more forcibly than ever, the mere fact of their obscene presence, those burning words of warning which Macaulay, more than a quarter of a century ago, as if reminding England of her shame under her glory, of the lice under the ermine, told her, trumpet-tongued, of these outcasts of her population, heathens in the midst of her Christianity, savages in the midst of civilisation." We need not add to these, and should not have given them so much space as we have done, but that they indicate only too fairly the manner in which the book has been done. Such confusion of style is seldom, if ever, found associated with clearness and vigour of thought, and it is certainly not so here. It is fair, however, to say that the author can, and sometimes does, write better. But with the exception of that of Mr. Gladstone, these sketches all seem to have been done with haste, and in a very perfunctory manner. There is very little attempt at analysis of the intellectual characteristics of the men, or careful estimate of the political services which have won for them their present position. The portrait of Lord Granville, for example, which is neither better nor worse than its companions, contrasts most disadvantageously with the more brief but infinitely more discriminating sketch of him recently given in the *Spectator*. The first looks simply at the outside of the man; the other with that insight which qualifies the artist for this work of character-painting, and in which the "Templar" is so sadly deficient, gives us the true secret of that remarkable power which the new leader of the House of Lords exercises, and which, to those who know little of him, is rather a mystery. It is this kind of subtle and delicate criticism which we expected the work before us to supply, but in which it is utterly lacking, the small attempts at it, particularly in the case of Mr. Gladstone, only serving to indicate the writer's incapacity for the task. He is familiar with the gossip of the clubs, and has caught something of the tone of criticism prevalent there; and, though he has endeavoured to correct some of its extravagances, and to present us with a fair estimate of the men he describes, he has not shown much original power. Indeed, even in facts he is sometimes so careless, that he twice repeats the statement that Calne was disfranchised by the Reform Bill, and Mr. Lowe thus compelled to seek another seat, the truth being that Lord Edward Fitzmaurice sits for a constituency which, small as it is, looked very doubtfully at that time on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gladly responded, therefore, to the invitation from the University.

Miscellaneous.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY.—The inaugural dinner of the Colonial Society was given on Thursday night at Willis's Rooms, Viscount Bury, M.P., in the chair. The toast of "The United States" was responded to by Mr. Beveridge Johnson, who referred to an impression which appeared to prevail that the Americans were unable to extend their territory. This, however, was not generally endorsed, and many believed that the Stars and Stripes might yet float over some of the British colonies. God forbid, however, that her Majesty's dominions should ever be curtailed. The other speakers included Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers, Mr. C. Fortescue, Earl Granville, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Monck, Sir G. E. Cartier, and the Earl of Albemarle. The dinner was numerously attended by colonists of all classes.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOLS.—The annual meeting of the Middle-class Schools Corporation was held yesterday at the Mansion House; the Lord Mayor in the chair. An address was presented to the Bishop of London, welcoming his lordship as the official visitor of the schools. The right rev. prelate, in replying, assured the meeting of his sympathy with the object sought to be accomplished—that of providing for the middle classes a thoroughly sound religious and practically useful education. Without entering into the vexed question of the conscience clause, these schools had proved that it was possible to impart sound and deep religious teaching without interfering with the scruples of parents. The report, which spoke encouragingly respecting the success of the schools, was adopted.

WINE AND BEERHOUSE LICENCES.—The text of a bill which has for its object the amendment of the law relating to wine and beerhouses has been published. It provides that no licence, or renewal of licence, for the sale, by retail, of beer, cider, or wine, shall be granted, except upon the production of certificates to be issued by the justices at the general annual licensing meeting. The bill proposes to give to the police the right of entry into houses licensed to sell beer not to be consumed on the premises; and it

also provides that persons found present in houses open at illegal hours shall be liable for half the amount of the pecuniary penalties imposed on the keepers of such houses. This bill is endorsed by Mr. Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Akroyd, and Mr. Headlam.

THE NEW REPEALERS.—A new repeal agitation is being excited in Ireland. The authors of it are not Fenians, nor even Nationalists; are not Captain Mackay, nor even The Donoghue; but certain Conservatives and Protestants. The *Irish Times*, whereof Major Knox, the unseated Conservative member for Sligo, is the proprietor, declares that the indifference of Whig statesmen (exemplified by Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the Irish railways question) is convincing all thoughtful men of the necessity of a native legislation. "This conviction, we affirm," says the journal in question, "is daily spreading, not among the lower and powerless strata of society, but among the great middle classes, the landed gentry and the educated men of all professions amongst us. They will not, unless coerced, seek a separation from England or a severance from the sovereignty; but they believe that justice to this country can only be done by a local sitting of the Irish members, with full power to dispose of the Irish revenues in the way the country wills." The mantle of Daniel O'Connell has fallen upon Major Knox. He has numerous followers among the clergy of the Established Church, who write to another local Conservative paper that if the Church is disestablished they will be ready to join the repeal movement. It is not plain how that would improve their position.

THE PRISON PHILANTHROPIST.—On Wednesday evening a number of ladies and gentlemen assembled at the studio of Mr. Mercier, Albert-gate, for the purpose of inspecting the large picture entitled, "The Condemned Cell," the principal figure in which is the "prison philanthropist"—Thomas Wright, a remarkable man, who, originally an artisan, has for the last sixty or seventy years—he is now nearly ninety—devoted himself to visiting prisoners for their instruction and consolation. Some time since a committee was formed, with the Earl of Shaftesbury for president, and the Lord Mayor of London for vice-president, with the object of raising a testimonial to him. The form decided upon was pictorial, and Mr. Mercier's picture was selected. It has been decided to purchase it and two duplicates for preservation in London, Salford, and Manchester. He is represented as standing with an open Bible in his left hand, and his right resting tenderly on the shoulder of the unhappy criminal whose crouching, trembling figure and clenched hands contrast very strongly with the upturned devotional look, and the benevolent yet firm expression of the features of the good old man. The picture was pronounced by those present who knew Mr. Wright to be a very striking likeness. The Rev. Cosmo Gordon, the hon. sec. of the testimonial fund, stated that it was proposed to engrave the picture, and present a copy of it to every prison, reformatory, ragged-school, and benevolent institution in the kingdom.

THE ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, MATTELAND PARK.—The 111th anniversary festival of this important charity was held at the London Tavern on Thursday evening under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, supported by Mr. Sheriff Hutton. The charity was instituted in 1758, for the education and maintenance of 20 boys only, but the practical benevolence of its supporters enables the trustees now to educate no less than 471 children of both sexes, 67 of them having been admitted during the past year. In the aggregate 2,557 have been received in the school since its foundation, and of that number 1,292 have been admitted since 1867, when the present building was opened. The financial statement presented to the subscribers was highly satisfactory. Although the charity depends upon voluntary contributions for at least four-fifths of its annual income, it began in 1868 with a balance of little more than 13*l.*, and with outstanding claims amounting to upwards of 2,000*l.*; yet every obligation has been met, and while the ordinary payments have been less by 520*l.*, the ordinary receipts of the year have been greater by about 800*l.* The demands upon the exchequer of the institution are, however, very exhaustive—the weekly expenditure being over 200*l.* During the festivities of the evening an earnest appeal was made for further contributions by the Lord Mayor, who, after briefly reviewing the history of the charity, urging on *passant* the necessity of a religious education, proposed, "Increasing Prosperity to the Orphan Working School." The immediate result of that appeal was a handsome addition to the funds of the charity.

ADMIRALTY CONTRACT FRAUDS.—Mr. Gambler and Mr. Rumble were again examined on Tuesday at Bow-street, on the charge of conspiring to defraud Mr. Nicholas Mahon Maxwell of 30*l.* upon the false pretence of obtaining the acceptance of an Admiralty contract by corrupt influence. Mr. Bristow, the solicitor for the prosecution, stated that every one of the persons who are supposed to be referred to by their initials in the memorandum books of the defendants had denied having given them money to get contracts accepted. The Hon. Robert Dundas, Storekeeper-General, Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and Mr. Baxter, M.P., the Parliamentary Secretary, gave evidence as to the acceptance of the tender sent in by Maxwell, to show that no influence had been exercised over them by either of the prisoners in reference to the contract. Mr. Baxter mentioned in the course of his evidence that he had in some instances taken steps to ascertain why the large timber firms—those of high repute—did not send in tenders. They assigned as a reason that they found themselves unable to obtain contracts, when they believed that they might have

supplied her Majesty's Government with better articles and on better terms than firms whose tenders were accepted. There appeared to be a belief that inferior articles had been supplied. Investigations into the matter were now going on. At the conclusion of the case for the prosecution, and after hearing the defendants' counsel, Sir Thomas Henry said he was of opinion that there was clearly a case for a jury. Mr. Bristow said that disposed of Maxwell's case, but other cases were under investigation by the authorities, involving questions of much more importance than the present charge. The prisoners were then committed for trial.

THE ABORIGINAL PROTECTION SOCIETY.—A deputation from the Aborigines Protection Society had an interview on Monday with Earl Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was accompanied by the Right Hon. William Monsell, M.P., the Under-Secretary. The deputation, which was introduced by Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P., treasurer of the society, included Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill; Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P.; Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P.; Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., &c. Mr. F. W. Chesson read the memorial, which informed his lordship that the simple object of the society was to assist in the protection of natives who were brought into contact with colonisation, and to promote, not by violent, but by gradual means, their social elevation, and their enjoyment of that civil and political equality which should be the common property of all classes of her Majesty's subjects, without distinction of race or colour. In the process by which this great change may be effected, they would respectfully urge that native institutions and native agency should be largely employed. Several members of the deputation having addressed his lordship, Earl Granville said he had no doubt that the energy and the courageous character of our settlers, not always men of a very refined character, did occasionally require some counteracting influence in this country—such an influence as that society was calculated to wield. The memorial and the remarks that had been made raised three points, upon which he would make one or two observations. With regard to the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territory, he hoped they would not think it any disrespect on his part if he did not go into the question. The Government were at the present moment in a very critical position with regard to their negotiations, whichever way they might turn. With regard to the question of Queensland and Polynesia, he thought there was no doubt whatever that great cruelties had been committed by the very rough people who had been employed, quite uncontrolled, and the Government would certainly continue to do what might seem to them necessary with regard to the question. He must say, however, that, judging from what he had seen in the papers, he thought a good deal of exaggerated language was employed in describing the cruelties inflicted on and suffered by the Polynesians during the passage from their own country to Queensland; and he thought the explanations that had since been made by the persons implicated tended rather to exculpate them. At the same time, he thought there were exceptional cases. At this moment the Foreign Office was engaged in a somewhat similar question in reference to the Fiji Islands, and they would not relax their efforts to bring about a satisfactory state of things. With regard to the last subject, he was sorry to say that the information of the Government was exactly the same as that testified to by the two gentlemen who had addressed him, and that there could be no doubt of a system of ferocious cruelty having been carried on by the Republicans of the Transvaal; but he thought that one of the last acts of his predecessor—and an act the doing of which was in his (Lord Granville's) opinion perfectly justified by the state of the case—he alluded to the prohibiting all supplies of ammunition to the Boers—must produce a great effect for good. An extension of territory had been suggested as being a means most likely to form an effectual protection to the natives against the inhabitants of the Orange Free State, but that was a question upon which he could not pledge himself. He could, however, assure the deputation that—and now he spoke for his friend Mr. Monsell as well as for himself—all the subjects brought before them should have their best attention.

Cleanings.

Two convicted highwaymen were flogged in Newcastle-on-Tyne gaol on Wednesday.

The Northern section of the Great Western Railway is now worked entirely upon the narrow gauge. It is stated that a large firm of iron ship-builders is negotiating with the Government for a considerable portion of Woolwich Dockyard.

The Sheffield Town Council on Wednesday adopted a petition to Parliament in favour of a national compulsory system of education.

There is not the slightest foundation for the report that the arrangements for a fusion of the two Operas have come to an end.

"Did you know," said a cunning Gentile to a Jew, "that they hang Jews and Jackasses together in Portland?" "Indeed," retorted Solomon, "den it ish vell that you and I ish not dare."

A lady in Iowa county advertises herself as an "attorneys-at-law." The *New York Herald* supposes we shall next have the farmeress petitioning the President for a commission for a daughter as an officeress in the army.

The *British Medical Journal* says that the Admiralty have resolved to invite tenders for 200,000 lbs. of Australian preserved beef, which can be supplied at a much lower cost than that preserved at Deptford,

which has been in use since the Crimean failure of private contractors.

PULPIT ECENTRICITY.—We see it stated that a Rev. Sidney Corbett lectured at Quincy, Illinois, on a recent Sunday, announcing as his subject "Mud," and as his text—"Prepare ye the way of the Lord." A popular minister is said to have preached in an eastern city, on the Sunday immediately preceding his usual summer vacation, from the text, "I go a fishing"; and on another occasion to have selected as the text to a sermon to fast young men the words, "Let her drive," arbitrarily wrested and perverted in their meaning from the account of Paul's shipwreck.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

LONDON HOSPITALITY.—The *Daily News* observes that provincials do not regard their metropolitan cousins as over and above hospitable. The country rat has had the town rat to stay with him, and has shown him during the visit all the attention in his power. What cordiality of invitation and reception does the latter meet with in return? In all probability the parting guest expresses a kindly but somewhat vague hope that when his late entertainer comes to town he will not fail to let him know, or even to look him up. But may not the Londoner be fairly excused? To begin with, his house is a London house, and therefore obstinately inelastic. He has London servants, and they are saucy, and will do no extra work for anybody. And the master of the house himself? He cannot personally supply the deficiencies of his establishment and his domestics. His time is money, and that particular kind of money which is not his own. He must swallow a hasty meal of a morning, and be off to his daily duties. He cannot be the quiet, genial cicerone to his visitor that his visitor was to him under green leaves. A busy life cannot well be a hospitable one. Hospitality is a relic of barbarism—only the idle can entertain; the active man is too busy for civility. He accepts country favours, and fully intends to reciprocate them, but he is for ever obliged to postpone doing so. Fortunately, the rural rat, though he has his own thoughts, is not very exacting. Self-complacency is easily cultivated in solitude, and he forgives his ungrateful guest by priding himself on his own superior hospitality.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Diphtheria, sore throats, quinsy, mumps, and similar complaints always abound in wet weather, and are most safely and effectively used by rubbing Holloway's ointment at least twice a day upon the chest and glands of the throat. The ointment penetrates the skin, reduces inflammation, and heals ulcerations. This treatment is sufficient for curing the most serious and complicated throat affections, provided Holloway's pills be taken at the same time. When swallowing gives pain the ointment alone may be relied on, till improving symptoms admit of painless deglutition. In asthma, bronchitis, pneumonia, whooping cough, the early stages of consumption, scurvy, and measles, Holloway's medicines are not less valuable in mitigating the most troublesome features and in ultimately curing.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

FRYTHORCH.—March 8, the wife of the Rev. J. M. Frythorch, Llanarth, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

LONGLEY-SENIOR.—March 3, at the Congregational chapel, St. Helen's, by the Rev. William Best, of Leeds, Mr. John Longley, of Messrs. Longley Brothers, Hunslet, to Sarah Jane, second daughter of Mr. Richard Senior, of Farnworth, Lancashire, late of Leeds.

SHEFFIELD-FOULKES.—March 6, at Vear-lane Chapel, Coventry, by the Rev. John Stiles, Mr. Henry Sheffield, of that city, to Mrs. Elizabeth Foulkes, of Banbury.

ELLIOTT-FISHER.—March 8, at the Tabernacle, Dursley, by the Rev. T. Wallace, Mr. G. Elliott, to Ann Fisher, both of Uley, Gloucestershire.

BROWN-KIRKE.—March 9, at the Congregational church, Eccles, by the Rev. Robert Halley, D.D., of London, the Rev. George H. Brown, of Eccles, to Mary Eliza, daughter of the late Henry Kirke, Esq., of the Elms, Derbyshire, and of Hope Hall, Manchester. No cards.

DUNN-JONES.—March 9, at King-street Chapel, Portsea, by the Rev. William Rose, Mr. Wilfred Dunn, grocer, of Southsea, to Anna Jane Jones, daughter of Mr. James Jones, of 116, Queen-street, Portsea.

SIMPSON-SHAW.—March 7, at the Netherfield Independent chapel, Penistone, by the Rev. Thomas France, of Loxley, Mr. James Simpson, to Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Joseph Shaw, all of Penistone Bridge.

WELSH-BURNETT.—March 9, at the Independent chapel, Durham, by the Rev. S. Goodall, Mr. William E. Welsh, to Mary Burnett, the eldest daughter of Mr. William G. Burnett, of Durham.

HENDERSON-WHEATLEY.—March 9, at the Congregational Church, Cheetham-hill, by the Rev. G. W. Conder, William, son of the late W. Henderson, Church-street, Liverpool, to Emily Jane, daughter of E. B. Wheatley, Grosvenor-terrace, Cheetham-hill-road.

GALLOWAY-NOBLE.—March 9, at Salem Chapel, York, by the Rev. James Parsons, Mr. James Galloway, of Edinburgh, to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of the late Mr. William Noble, of York.

GREENWOOD-SIMPSON.—March 10, at the Congregational church, Square-road, Halifax, by the Rev. W. Thomas, of Leeds, Mr. Thomas Greenwood, to Mrs. Sarah Simpson, both of Halifax.

THOMAS-STICKLAND.—March 10, at Grosvenor-street Baptist Chapel, Manchester, by the Rev. J. H. Bette, James Hunt Thomas, of Twickenham, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Stickland, of Pender, Dorset.

FLETCHER-THOMSON.—March 10, at Bath, by the Rev. W. H. Dyer, Joseph Fletcher, J.P., of Whitehaven, and Stilton House, Dumfriesshire, to Marion, daughter of William Thomson, Esq., of Dumfries.

SUTCLIFFE-FLEMING.—March 11, at the West-end Congregational chapel, Southport, by the Rev. J. Chater, Mr. Thomas Sutcliffe, to Miss Lucy Malvern Fleming, both of Southport.

ASHWORTH-GREAVES.—March 11, at the Independent chapel, Grosvenor-street, Piccadilly, Manchester, by the Rev. Thomas Willis, Edmund Ashworth, to Hannah Travis, younger daughter of Joseph Greaves, Esq., of Manchester.

DAVIS-WALKDEN.—March 11, at the Congregational church, Blackheath, by the Rev. J. Beasley, A. O. Davis, of the P. and O. Steam Navigation Company, to Hannah Rebekah (Annie), daughter of S. Walkden, of Blackheath and Lawrence-lane.

ODGERS-HILL.—March 11, at the Free Christian Church, Kentish-town, by the Rev. W. J. Odgers, the Rev. J. E. Odgers, M.A., of Bridgewater, to Eliza Ann, daughter of C. Hill, Esq., of London.

CHANDLEY-KELLEY.—March 11, at the Primitive Methodist Chapel, Upper Moss-lane, Hulme, by the Rev. T. Hindley, Mr. Thomas A. Chandley, to Amelia Jane, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Kelly, both of Hulme.

COALES-PICKWORTH.—March 11, at the Free Tabernacle, Notting-hill, by the Rev. H. Varley, brother-in-law to the bride, assisted by the Rev. J. Offord, of Palace-gardens Chapel, W. Coales, Esq., of Newport Pagnell, to Susan, second daughter of Thomas Pickworth, Esq., of Notting-hill, London, W.

DEATHS.

LANKESTER.—March 4, at Poole, Elizabeth, the wife of John Lankester, Esq., J.P., aged seventy-one.

TOPLIN.—March 5, at West-end House, Havant, Sarah Jane, the beloved wife of Mr. Robert Toplin, aged seventy-two.

JACOB.—March 7, John George Jacob, eldest son of the Rev. Isaac Jacob, of Sutton, Surrey, in his thirty-fifth year.

BISHOP.—March 9, at Harrogate, aged seventy-five, Elizabeth, relict of the Rev. John Bishop, late minister of the Congregational chapel, Axminster, Devon.

TAYLOR.—March 11, at Mountsdown Villa, Bootle, Liverpool, Jessie Steadman, aged two years, youngest daughter of the Rev. William M. Taylor, M.A.

COOKE.—March 13, in his seventy-first year, at Oxford, Mr. Henry Cooke, proprietor of the *Oxford Chronicle*, which he founded about thirty years ago.

THOMSON.—March 14, at eight a.m., Catherine Campbell, the wife of the Rev. John Thomson, of Lightcliffe, Halifax.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 82, for the week ending Wednesday, March 10.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued £31,957,425 Government Debt £11,015,100
Other Securities .. 3,984,909
Gold Coin & Bullion 15,987,425

£31,957,425

£31,957,425

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital £14,553,000 Government Securities (inc. dead
Reserve .. 5,055,504 weight annuity) £14,076,537
Public Deposits .. 6,490,939 Other Securities .. 19,628,038
Other Deposits .. 18,420,387 Notes .. 8,732,510
Seven Day and other .. 431,654 Gold & Silver Coin 1,104,509
Bills .. 243,561,594

£243,561,594

£243,561,594

March 11, 1869.

Geo. Forster, Chief Cashier.

Markets.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Notwithstanding that the receipts of English wheat were again limited, the trade was steady, and sales were with difficulty concluded at Monday's decline. There was a good show of foreign wheat on the stands. The demand was dull, at about late rates. Floating cargoes of wheat were neglected. Other kinds of produce adroit moved off slowly. Although the inquiry for barley was far from active, the tone of the market was healthy, and prices were supported. Malt was in limited request, at late quotations. In oats, the show of which were good, sales progressed slowly, at Monday's reduction. Beans and peas commanded but little, the late falls in prices having failed to attract buyers. Flour was dull, at Monday's reduction. The top price of flour made is 45s. per 280lbs.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	400	50	900	—	—
Irish	—	1,350	—	500	—
Foreign	6,430	6,750	—	16,960	1,480
					2,019 bls.
					Maize, 100 qrs.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, March 15.

We have had a liberal arrival of English Wheat, which our millers could only be induced to clear off at a decline of 3s. per qr., which reduced the value of fine English white wheat to 50s. to 51s., and of red to 48s. to 47s. The arrivals from abroad are moderate, and the sale has been in retail, at a reduction of 1s. per qr. since this day week. Flour is 1s. per sack and barrel lower. Barley and peas support late prices, and beans are 2s. per qr. lower. Arrivals of oats are fair, and prices 6d. per qr. lower on the week. There are few cargoes fresh arrived on the coast. Wheat is 1s. per qr. lower. Barley and maize without change in value.

CURRENT PRICES.

	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
	s.	d.	s.	d.
WHEAT—				
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	—	—	38	40
Ditto new ..	41	47	35	46
White, old ..	—	—	35	40
new ..	48	54	33	40
Foreign red ..	—	—	33	40
white ..	—	—	33	40
BARLEY—				
English malt ..	35	38	38	40
Chevalier ..	45	50		
Distilling ..	41	43		
Foreign ..	30	36		
MALT—				
Pale ..	—	—	31	35
Chevalier ..	—	—	32	35
Brown ..	52	60	31	35
BEANS—				
_ticks ..	35	38		
Harrow ..	38	40		
Small ..	—	—		
Egyptian ..	35	36		
PEAS—				
Grey ..	—	—	38	40
Maple ..	—	—	35	46
White ..	—	—	35	40
Boilers ..	—	—	33	40
Foreign, boilers ..	—	—	33	40
OATS—				
English feed ..	26	32		
potatoes ..	30	33		
Scotch feed ..	—	—		
potatoes ..	—	—		
Irish black ..	21	25		
white ..	22	25		
Foreign feed ..	21	23		
FLOUR—				
Town made ..	38	43		
Country Marks ..	35	36		
Norfolk & Suffolk ..	30	31		

BREAD.—LONDON, Saturday, March 13.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7d. to 8d.; household ditto, 5d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, March 15.

The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 12,508 head. In the corresponding week in 1868 we received 8,102; in 1867, 10,865; in 1866, 13,919; and in 1865, 7,169. There was a good supply of foreign beasts, for which the trade was heavy, at 2d. per 8lbs. less money; whilst, owing to extensive arrivals, foreign sheep came could only be disposed of at a reduction of 6d. per 8lbs. From our own grazing districts the arrivals of stock were moderate, and the quality was rather better. The trade was quiet, and the tendency of prices was in favour of buyers, the top quotation being 6s. 6d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,000 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England, 690 of various breeds; from

Scotland, 103 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland 88 oxen. With English sheep the market was more freely supplied, and the general quality was rather improved. A want of animation characterised the inquiry for all breeds; and whilst prime stock was 2d. per 8lbs. lower, the fall in the value of inferior animals was more marked. The best down and half-bred in the wool sold at 6s. 4d. to 6s. 6d.; out of the wool, 5s. 3d. to 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. Calves changed hands quietly at late prices. For pigs the inquiry was limited at previous quotations.

Per 8lbs. to sink the OZal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3	4	3	8	Prime Southdowns	6	2	0	6
Second quality	3	10	4	6	Lambs	—	0	0	0
Prime large oxen	4	8	5	2	Lge. coarse calves	4	8	5	0
Prime Scots, &c.	5	4	5	6	Prime small	—	4	6	2
Coarse inf. sheep	3	6	4	4	Large hogs	—	3	4	8
Second quality	4	6	5	6	Neatam. porkers	4	10	5	2
Pr. coarse woolled	5	8	6	0					

Suckling calves, 22s. to 25s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 22s. to 25s. each.

SMITHFIELD MEAT MARKET, Monday, March 15.

The market has been moderately supplied with meat. The trade has been quiet at drooping prices. The imports into London last week consisted of 735 packages from Hamburg, and 48 carcasses pigs from Boulogne.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef	3	4	3	8	Inf. mutton	3	4	3	10
Middling ditto	3	10	4	2	Middling ditto	4	0	4	8
Prime large do.	4	4	4	6	Prime ditto	4	10	5	2
Do. small do.	4	8	4	10	Veal	—	4	6	5
Large pork	3	2	3	10	Small pork	—	4	0	4

COVENT-GARDEN MARKET.—LONDON, Saturday, March 13.—The supply, both foreign and home-grown, continues ample; neither have we any fresh remarks to make with regard to the amount of business transacted. Oranges are plentiful. Strawberries are now regularly supplied, and realise 3s. per oz. Flowers chiefly consist of orchids, primulas, cinerarias, mignonette, heaths, cyclamens, tulips, crocuses, snowdrops, calla lilies, cyrtus racemosa, hyacinths, lily of the valley, daisy, zinnia, pelargonium, fuchsia, violet, wallflowers, roses, and hollyhocks.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, March 15.—Our market continues generally well supplied, but the trade in home growths is hardly so active as last week. Every class of foreign is in good request at fully late rates. Continental advices report strong markets and advancing prices for all fine samples. Low grades appear still to be plentiful. New York advices to the 2nd inst. report the market as strong. The competition runs strong for the few fine parcels not yet in the hands of speculators. Mid and East Kent, 3l. 10s., 3l. 15s., to 7l. 7s.; Weald of Kent, 2l., 3l. 10s., to 4l. 10s.; Sussex, 2l., 3l. 10s., to 3l. 15s.; Farnham, 3l. 10s., 4l. 5s., to 6l.; Country, 3l. 10s., 4l., to 5l.; Bavarians, 2l., 3l. 10s., to 3l. 10s.; Belgians, 2l., 3l. 10s., to 3l.; Yearlings, 2l., 3l. 10s., to 3l. 10s.; Americans, 2l. 5s., 2l. 15s., to 3l. 10s. The imports of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 470 bales from Antwerp, 160 Boulogne, 73 Bremen, 140 Orlais, 100 Dunkirk, 72 Hamburg, 10 Königsberg, 323 Rotterdam, and 32 Stettin.

PROVISIONS, Monday, March 15.—This arrivals last week from Ireland were 32 firkins butter, and 3,019 bales bacon, and from foreign ports, 23,095 casks, &c., butter, and 1,048 bales bacon. The stock of Irish butter is reduced to a very small compass. Foreign sales well, and prices of the best Normandys and Jerseys are maintained. Best Dutch declined 6s. per cwt. Supplies of Irish bacon being moderate, the sale was good, and at the close of the week an advance of 2s. per cwt. was required and partially obtained. Best Waterford 82s. free on board. No alteration in Hamburg. Lard a fair sale at 82s., free on board, for bladders; 78s., free on board, for kegs. Hams sell well.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS.—Monday, March 15.—Coastwise as well as by rail the receipts of potatoes have been on a full average scale. For all descriptions the trade has been heavy, at our quotations. The imports into London last week consisted of 300 tons, 2,593 bags, 414 packages, 150 sacks from Antwerp; 30 tons from Caen; 100 tons, 1,766 sacks from Dunkirk; 35 bags from Hamburg; and 40 bags from Königsberg. English Regents 60s. to 100s. per ton, Pinkes, 80s. to 120s., Scotch Regents 60s. to 120s., Rocks 50s. to 70s., French, 40s. to 70s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, March 15.—Fine English red cloverseed remains scarce; fine samples are held very high. Belgian samples are dear, and German high, with a moderate demand. White cloverseed was held high. Fine Trefoils brought as much money, with a fair sale. New white Essex mustardseed remains very high, being scarce. No change in brown qualities. Foreign tares were taken off in small quantities at the prices of this day's night.

WOOL, Monday, March 15.—There is very little animation in the English wool market. The demand is very quiet, and prices have a downward tendency. The attention of the trade is principally confined to the public sales of colonial produce now in progress.

OIL, Monday, March 15.—For linseed and rape oils the market has been very firm, and prices have materially improved. Other oils have commanded but little attention. Turpentine and petroleum have moved off slowly.

TALLOW, Monday, March 15.—The market has been firmer. Y.O. on the spot is selling at 46s. 6d. per cwt. Town Tallow is quoted at 44s. 9d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, March 15.—Factors realised an advance on last day's rates. Walstead Huttons, 15s.; Haswell, 15s.; Hutton Lyons, 15s.; South Hartlepool, 15s.; South Kellow, 17s. 3d.; Tees, 17s. 6d.; Hough Hall, 17s. 3d.; Holywell Main, 15s. 3d.; Hartley's, 15s. 3d.; Tunstall, 15s. Ships fresh arrived, 40; ships left from last day, 10—total, 50. Ships at sea, 5.

Advertisements.

NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.—Candidates seeking admission in September next: Students for the Ministry are reminded that their applications should be sent in as soon as convenient.

All necessary information may be obtained from the Secretary, at the College, Finchley New-road, Hampstead, N.W.

W. FARBER, LL.B., Secretary.

ROCK VILLA, NAILSWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

TO BE LET, and entered upon immediately, the above FAMILY RESIDENCE, pleasantly situated on Rockness Point, amidst the most romantic scenery of Gloucestershire, consisting of Dining and Drawing-rooms, Six Bedrooms, W.C., Kitchen, Cellar, Greenhouse, Alcove, Coach-house, Stable, Walled-in Garden. The whole fitted up with Gas, and well supplied with Spring and Rain Water. Within Fifteen Minutes' walk of Nailsworth Railway-station. For Particulars apply to Smith and Son, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.

BIBLE and COLPORTAGE SOCIETY of IRELAND.—AGENT WANTED for the Derry Branch, to TAKE CHARGE of the CENTRAL DEPOSITORY. Applicants should have a knowledge of the Book Trade. Security required. Applications, with testimonials, will be received until the 31st of March by
Rev. RICHARD SMYTH, Sec., Londonderry.

EAST LONDON CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The Rev. SAMUEL MARTIN will preach on behalf of the above Association, in Stepney Meeting (kindly lent for the occasion) on TUESDAY EVENING, March 23, 1869, services to commence at half-past seven o'clock.

The Association being under great obligations to Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., for liberal aid from the commencement to the present, the following resolution was passed at the Annual Meeting, held in St. John's Church, January 22, 1869:—

"That the brethren now assembled have heard with much satisfaction of Mr. Morley's engagement to contribute to the funds of the Association a sum equal to that which may be raised by the Association from all other sources; and, feeling deeply the obligations under which Mr. Morley's continued munificence lays them, are prepared to do what in them lies, in their various churches, to meet the practical challenge which is involved in his generous offer."

To give effect to this resolution, the Committee earnestly appeal to the friends of Mission work. Contributions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Thos. Scrutton, Esq., 3, Corbet-court, Gracechurch-street, the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. James Bowrey, 10, Stepney-caneway, E., or any member of the Committee.

APPRENTICESHIP SOCIETY.

The next HALF-YEARLY ELECTION will take place at 18, South-street, Finsbury, on TUESDAY, March 30, 1869. The Poll will commence at eleven and will close at one precisely.

W. WELLS KILPIN, } Hon. Secs.
L. VALE MUMFORD, }

HIBBERT TRUST.—Two Scholarships will be awarded on this Foundation after the next Examination, provided that Two Candidates are declared by the Examiners to be duly qualified.

The next Examination will be held at UNIVERSITY HALL, GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, on MONDAY, TUESDAY, and WEDNESDAY, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th days of November, 1869.

Candidates must furnish satisfactory evidence of age, graduation, and other points, the particulars of which may be obtained on application to the Secretary of the Trust, and the Names and Addresses of all Candidates must be sent to the Secretary, at University Hall, on or before October 1, 1869.

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